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# KRONOS, SHIVA, & ASKLEPIOS

*Studies in Magical Gems and Religions of the Roman Empire*

Attilio Mastrocinque



American Philosophical Society •  
Philadelphia • 2011

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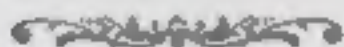




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## Preface



This volume presents a series of analyses of peculiar iconographies and texts concerning magical gems. Magical gems are amulets created by carving words or symbols into precious stones; most were made during the Roman Empire. Magical gems are compounds created by modern scholars in which a variety of beliefs can be recognized. These documents provide us with many interesting approaches, from the point of view of magical medicine, of linguistic features of magical words, of the merging of Graeco-Roman and Eastern iconographies, and so on. My purpose here is to use the iconographies and the texts about magical gems as documents to understand the most refined religious thought of Imperial Age theologians. During the Imperial Age, gems were often seen as tools used to cope with the problems of common daily life; for modern scholars they preserve elements of ancient theological and cosmological theories. Even the most banal problems were faced by appealing to the higher gods and using sophisticated divine names and iconographies. In several cases we know of these names and images only through magical gems.

This small book gathers five studies on magical gems and religions of the Roman Empire. The first, second, and fifth chapters deal with topics that I have previously explored; but this volume presents texts and archaeological evidence in a new way. The research on *Sinua-Helios* and *Asklepios of Ascalon* are the result of my studies of the magical gems in Italy and of those in the *Cabinet des Médailles* in France. I realize that this topic is very obscure and I will try to explain myself avoiding rare or unusual words. The varying degrees of reliability of my proposals will be clarified by my putting hypotheses in the footnotes and more plausible explanations in the text. I hope to offer some new perspectives on the intriguing, elusive, and intricate religious environments that existed during the Imperial Age in Egypt and the Near East.

## PREFACE

I thank very much all the scholars who helped during my research and improved the results, in particular Pierre Amandry, Mathilde Avisseau Broustet, Silvana Ballo De Caro, Celen Bowersock, Christopher Parone, Teresa Giove, Patricia A. Johnston, Kenneth Lapatin, Simone Michel, Elizabeth Ann Pollard, and Erika Zwierniewska Diehl.

## Abbreviations



- Ab*: *Année Epigraphique*  
*AGDS*: *Antike Germanen in deutschen Sammlungen*  
*APHO*: *Annales de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales*  
*AJA*: *American Journal of Archaeology*  
*AMNS*: *American Numismatic Society*  
*ANSMN*: *American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes*  
*ARW*: *Archaische Religionswissenschaft*  
*ASAE*: *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*  
*CCAR*: *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*  
*BMC*: *British Museum Catalogue*  
*Bonner, MMA: C.* Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets, chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*  
*Che. d'Ég.*: *Chronique d'Égypte*  
*CI.*: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin: 1862).  
*CIARM*: M. L. Vermaseren, *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Aethiopicæ*, J. H. den Haag: 1964, 1966.  
*CPh*: *The Classical Philology*  
*Delatte, Derchain: A.* Delatte and Ph. Derchain, *Les amulettes magiques gréco-égyptiennes*  
*EPRO*: *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain* (Leiden: 1961).  
*GUS*: *Die griechisch-christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (Berlin: 1897, 2008).  
*GGA*: *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*  
*GMPF*: *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, H.D. Betz, ed.  
*IDelos*: *Inscriptions de Delos* (Paris: 1926, 2008).  
*IEJ*: *Israel Exploration Journal*

# ABBREVIATIONS

- ICLS: *Les inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* (Paris: 1929, 2009).
- JANER: *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*
- JbA: *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*
- JNES: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
- JWCI: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*
- LAM: *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Zurich: 1981–2006).
- MDAIK: *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Institutes (Kairoer Abteilung)*
- MEFR: *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome (Antiquité)*
- Michel, *British Museum*: S. Michel, *Die magischen Gemmen im Britischen Museum*
- MEU: *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de l'Université Saint Joseph, Beyrouth*
- NHC: *Nag Hammadi Codices*
- PawB: *Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge*
- PGM: *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, *Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*
- PO: *Patrologia Orientalis* (Paris, 1907)
- RAC: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, [.] Dolger, ed.
- RI: *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, C. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll, eds.
- Rev. d'Ég.: *Revue d'Égyptologie*
- RGW: *Religions in the Greco-Roman World*
- RHR: *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*
- RIAA: *Rivista dell'Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*
- RI<sup>2</sup>: *The Roman Imperial Courtage*, I–X, C. H. V. Sutherland et al., eds.
- SCt: *Studia Classica Graecolatina*
- SCt. I: *Syllage gemmarum Graecolatinae*, I, A. Mastrocinque, ed.
- SCt. II: *Syllage gemmarum Graecolatinae*, II, A. Mastrocinque, ed.
- VNG: *Syllage Nummorum Graecorum*
- Suppl. Mag.: R. W. Daniel, E. Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum*, I–II
- TCG: *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, I–V (Göttingen: 1971–2004).
- VgChr: *Vergleichende Christentum*
- ZPE: *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*



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## INTRODUCTION





## MAGICAL GEMS AS A DOCUMENTARY SOURCE FOR ANCIENT RELIGION

This book uses the iconography of magical gems as a documentary source for the knowledge of religions in the Roman empire. The compound of "magical gems" is the result of a modern choice, whereas antiquity did not know such a category. On the other hand, "amulets" (*periammota*, *phylacteria*) were known. Campbell Bonner entitled his very important handbook on this topic *Studies in Magical Amulets*. He dealt also with bronze amulets of Late Antiquity and the Byzantine age, which are different from magical gems. In fact, amulets consisted mainly of pieces of papyrus or metal lamellae bearing prayers and other texts, as we can see by reading the recipes of magical papyrus or *Hippocraticae*.

The category of "magical gems" was conceived in the Counter-Reformation intellectual environment to refer to iconographies of non-Olympian gods and odd images or inscriptions that appeared on carved gems. Scholars formulated various hypotheses. Pietro Ligorio (Naples, 1513/14-Ferrara, 1583), in his work *Il libro cinquecentesimo dell'antichità sopra delle symphatiti dell'antichi intagli che si trouano con la imagine del scarabeo symbolo del sole*, says that these gems were inspired by the cults of Helios and Asklepios, and that they were amulets used against disease; Cesare Baronio (Sora, 1548-Rome, 1607), in his *Amuleti e scismatici* (Rome, 1588-1607), interpreted these gems as evidence of Gnosticism. This point of view was shared by Abraham van Gool (Amwerp, 1549-Delft, 1609) and Jean l'Heureux (Gravelines, mid-sixteenth century Arras-en-Artois, 1614). l'Heureux was a follower of François de Loix de Candale, bishop of Arras, a passionate researcher on Hermeticism. Jean Chifflet (Besançon, 1612-Tournay, 1680) recognized gnostic and mithraic influences within the iconography of these gems. Athanasius Kircher (Geisa bei Tulla, 1602-Rome, 1680), Lorenzo Pignoria (Padua, 1571-5), and Bernard de Montfaucon (Aube, 1655-Paris, 1741) were looking for magical gems for evidence of Egyptian religion.

In the century of Enlightenment, Luigi Bossi<sup>1</sup> supposed that magical gems were the artifacts of magicians, tricksters, and charlatans. In the

<sup>1</sup> Bossi, *Storia della Magia*, *Trattato della magia magica* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990).

<sup>2</sup> On the topic of ancient scholarship of the Roman Empire, see N. B. Bagnall, "The Roman Empire in the Late Nineteenth Century," in A. Momigliano (ed.), *Stylized Paganism and Christianity: A History of Paganism in the Roman Empire* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1975), 27-5.

<sup>3</sup> *Epigraphicae et antiquariae observationes* (Louvain: 1680).

<sup>4</sup> *Museo, Storia del Museo* (Paris, 1742). For a full bibliography of the *Museo*, see *Antiquarian Epigraphy*.

<sup>5</sup> In *Museo, Antiquariae*.

<sup>6</sup> Bossi, *Magia, storia della magia* (1990; Milan, 1992).

nineteenth century, the gnostic roots of magical gems were emphasized by Jacques Matter and Charles W. King.<sup>1</sup> In 1914 Armand Delatte<sup>2</sup> founded the modern approach to magical gems thanks to comparisons made with magical papyri, and credited the magicians of the Roman Empire, inspired by the Egyptian religion, with the production of texts and images of magical gems. Starting from this date magical papyri and magical gems were studied together; *defixiones* and magical lamellae were added to this corpus to create the de-concentration of Imperial Age magical arts. Modern scholarship has been satisfied with this grouping of documents, which has been more or less accurately separated from texts and images that constitute what we regard as *Classicity*. In this way the Olympian gods were safe from contamination by magical iconography and texts. Adolf Hirtwangler excluded these gems from his work *Die antiken Gemmen* and from the National Archaeological Museum of Berlin, in favor of placement in the Egyptological Museum. The British Museum entrusted these embarrassing gems to the Medieval Department. Ulrich von Wilamowitz never took into account the magical papyri, which were considered an inferior product of antiquity.

In any case, in fact, during the middle of the twentieth century, Campbell Bonner and Alphonse Barth produced a series of seminal works in which they clarified the basis of the religious and theological speculation that underlay the iconographies and inscriptions of magical gems. These two authors recognized a plurality of religious streams that directed the engravers of gems. They discerned traces not only of Egyptian and Greek religion, but also speculations on Judaism.

Neither magical gems nor magical papyri and other types of magical documents were separated from ancient religions; on the contrary, they have to be held as precious evidence of religious streams that could not be classified as Olympic, classic, or Hellenic. Neither were they evidence of true Egyptian or Jewish religions. Impurity, the contamination of what is deemed to be "a true religion" is the reason for winking out a magic document. One could also separate in the same way the theological works of Theurgy and Hermeticism, because they are inconsistent with Homer and *Classicity*.

The magical papyri of the Anastasi collection, gathered from a find near Egyptian Thebes, are a sort of litmus test for us to judge what is

<sup>1</sup> Matter, *Études sur les amulettes et talismans*, Paris, Lesoult, 1904; also, *Les amulettes magiques d'après les sources égyptiennes* (1902).

<sup>2</sup> Wilamowitz, *Die griechische Literatur*, Berlin, Deutscher, 1907.

<sup>3</sup> Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, in *IV. "Miscellany"*, 1914-1926, also, *Studies on Magic and Amulets*, in *IV. "Miscellany"*, 1914-1926, also, *Studies on Magic and Amulets*, in *IV. "Miscellany"*, 1914-1926.

<sup>4</sup> Barth, *Die griechische Literatur*, Berlin, Deutscher, 1907; also, *Die griechische Literatur*, Berlin, Deutscher, 1907.

magic and what is not, because everything in those papyri is deemed to be magical. In several recipes of those papyri the word "magic" is used to label a ritual or a religious attitude, but it is true that the owner of this library was interested in alchemy, theology, and literature.<sup>1</sup> This library is also a testimony of new forms of Egyptian religion in imperial times,<sup>2</sup> in which the ancient local tradition was merged with the near-Eastern wisdom of the "Magi." The wisdom of these Magi was shaped in Persian or Jewish form.

According to modern scholarship, Greco-Roman, that is, "classic" religion was only that of Homer and Cicero, and not that of Porphyry and Julian the Apostate, and even less that of the Hermetic texts or Chaldean oracles. "Classicality" stops when Oriental cults infect the Greco-Roman tradition. During the Roman Empire, the Jews and the Christians thought that the true Israel could not be where pagan or especially near-Eastern religious influences were present. The Christian apologists and heresiologists labeled as "magic" the doctrines that they recognized as Christian heresies.

This approach to non-Olympian religious traditions of the Imperial Age is embedded in the widespread opposition between magic and religion, which Christianity founded and first used against heretical Christians.<sup>3</sup> These heresies were mostly labeled as Gnosticism, which is a variety of Christianity infected by paganism and especially by Oriental religious elements.

In this book we will see that even characters of the ancient, classic Greek religion, such as Empousa, are present on the magical gems. Recent studies by Christopher Partridge have shown that many elements of Imperial Age magic arts were already present in Greek religion of the classical age. Hitherto the iconography of Empousa had not been recognized, neither was the iconography of Asklepios of Aesculap; consequently these iconographies had been labeled as "magical." In fact, they are characters of Attic religion and of a Palestinian pantheon, respectively. Our classification of these gems among the magical ones is not false, but only traditional. The god of Aesculap appeared odd, and because of that his gems became "magic." This is a tradition in the studies: a tradition that compels us to exclude

<sup>1</sup> See G. Goheen, *The Iseum of Memphis: A Temple of Apollon in the Late Pagan World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

<sup>2</sup> E. H. Rieu, *History of Egypt, from the Conquest of the Country by the Persians to the Invasion of Egypt by the Arabs* (London: George Philip, 1928; repr., Dover Publications, 1965).

<sup>3</sup> For such an opinion, see G. Rieu, *History of Egypt*, 1928, 1965; J. G. G. Rieu, *History of Egypt* (London: George Philip, 1928; repr., Dover Publications, 1965).

<sup>4</sup> Partridge, *Magical Religion*, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000.

<sup>5</sup> H. Rieu, "Magical Religion," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 2 (1982): 52-58; *Magical Religion*, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000.



For love, Socrates . . . is love of generation and of birth in beauty . . .  
 But why of generation? Because to the mortal creature, generation is a  
 sort of eternity and immortality, and it, as has been already admitted,  
 love is of the everlasting possession of the good; all men will necessarily  
 desire immortality together with good: Wherefore love is of immortality.

Plato is saying, through the words of the Delphic priestess Diotima, that Beauty produces the creative act, that is, the issue of semen. This statement was the starting point of a number of theological speculations of the Imperial Age. The main idea that firmly rooted itself was the idea that contemplation of the supreme god produced semen, which generated the most splendid and divine children. The figure of the creator god himself was shaped according to the theory of the contemplation of Beauty, that is, of god, for this god created when contemplating. Therefore, the creator, the Platonic Demiourgos, was believed to be inferior to the supreme god.

There were several religious communities to which rituals were performed so as to attain contemplation of god and consequently to issue generative substances. Imitation of the creator god was a means of interfering with a divine power, and producing a substance that bore sparks of supreme deities.<sup>1</sup>

Now we will see how Kronos, a cosmic god, gave up generation and preferred contemplating the supreme Beauty. The first chapter of this book will deal with the castration of Kronos and his transformation from a begetter of cosmic gods to an asexual divine being. According to Greek mythology, Uranos was castrated by Kronos, but in many theological speculations of the Imperial Age it was Kronos who was castrated.<sup>2</sup> For Kronos is described as *ἡρμειομήτης*, "hermaphrodite," in the magical papyri.<sup>3</sup> It is evident from many sources that Kronos was a very important god in many theological systems of the Imperial Age, but the reasons underlying this importance are still scarce, and in the following chapters we will try to discover some of these reasons.

Kronos was also identified with important gods of other religions, such as the Jewish and the Egyptian ones; in fact, he was identified with Sabaoth

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Symposium* 206 A 2-7, A 9. For Diotima's theory, cf. also Plato, *Republic* 527 B 1-2, 529 B 1-2, 530 B 1-2, 531 B 1-2, 532 A 1-2, 533 A 1-2, 534 A 1-2, 535 A 1-2, 536 A 1-2, 537 A 1-2, 538 A 1-2, 539 A 1-2, 540 A 1-2, 541 A 1-2, 542 A 1-2, 543 A 1-2, 544 A 1-2, 545 A 1-2, 546 A 1-2, 547 A 1-2, 548 A 1-2, 549 A 1-2, 550 A 1-2, 551 A 1-2, 552 A 1-2, 553 A 1-2, 554 A 1-2, 555 A 1-2, 556 A 1-2, 557 A 1-2, 558 A 1-2, 559 A 1-2, 560 A 1-2, 561 A 1-2, 562 A 1-2, 563 A 1-2, 564 A 1-2, 565 A 1-2, 566 A 1-2, 567 A 1-2, 568 A 1-2, 569 A 1-2, 570 A 1-2, 571 A 1-2, 572 A 1-2, 573 A 1-2, 574 A 1-2, 575 A 1-2, 576 A 1-2, 577 A 1-2, 578 A 1-2, 579 A 1-2, 580 A 1-2, 581 A 1-2, 582 A 1-2, 583 A 1-2, 584 A 1-2, 585 A 1-2, 586 A 1-2, 587 A 1-2, 588 A 1-2, 589 A 1-2, 590 A 1-2, 591 A 1-2, 592 A 1-2, 593 A 1-2, 594 A 1-2, 595 A 1-2, 596 A 1-2, 597 A 1-2, 598 A 1-2, 599 A 1-2, 600 A 1-2, 601 A 1-2, 602 A 1-2, 603 A 1-2, 604 A 1-2, 605 A 1-2, 606 A 1-2, 607 A 1-2, 608 A 1-2, 609 A 1-2, 610 A 1-2, 611 A 1-2, 612 A 1-2, 613 A 1-2, 614 A 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and with Osiris.<sup>2</sup> These identifications resulted in the reshaping of our understanding of these three gods. But now it is time to consider the genus,

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Salomon, *op. cit.* pp. 26. "Das vererbte Erbkultur der Juden und Christen" *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 25 (1927): 271-80; On Osiris, see chapter 2.



Chapter 1

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**METAMORPHOSES OF KRONOS  
ON A GEM IN BOLOGNA**





## THE OBVERSE SIDE OF THE GEM: KRONOS AND A RECIPE FOR THE KYRANIDES

An important gem in the Civic Museum of Bologna<sup>1</sup> needs to be considered because it provides evidence of theological speculations of Near-Eastern theologians. The gem is a round obsidian (figure 1.1) from about the 2nd century CE, which represents, on the obverse side, Kronos holding a sword-sickle (*chape*) in his left hand and a mysterious object in his right; a globe is placed on top of his head. In another chapter we will deal with the reverse side, which depicts a boar above a leoninecephalic snake. Obsidian



Figure 1.1A. Obsidian in the Civic Museum of Bologna: photograph by the author.  
Reprinted with permission: <http://www.Museo.it>

<sup>1</sup> A.B. Mordukhai-Goltz, *Die antiken Gemmen des Museo Civico in Bologna* (Bologna: Bologna Centro, 1987), 134, no. 268. See also J. Gascou, *Le Musée de Gemmes de Marseille: le Musée de la magie* (Rennes: Ouest-France, 1989), 127–128, no. 33, 131; *Die Geschichte der Apokryphen Magie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1987), 110; *Die Apokryphen Magie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1987), 110; *Die Apokryphen Magie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1987), 110; *Die Apokryphen Magie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1987), 110.



Figure 1.10. Reverse side of the obsidian.

was chosen for this gem because it was the sacred stone of Kronos<sup>3</sup> and the gods who could be identified with him, such as Dispatēr.<sup>4</sup> Another similar specimen, also carved on obsidian, is housed in the Vatican Library and was previously kept in the Borgia collection.<sup>5</sup>

Roy Kouravsky has published information about a gem in the collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, in Santa Monica (Figure 1.21), which bears a similar iconography. He has identified this god with the Alexandrian Kronos, who is represented on several gems of the 2nd century AD (Figure

<sup>3</sup> Kouravsky, *Kronos*, in *Herakleus Kouravsky* (M.D., 1967), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, ed. H. D. Bethe (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), fragment 10, quoted as GMPT, 1.21, PM 4.3.6.

<sup>4</sup> Pausanias, *El Pausanias* (Santiago: Editorial del Bazar, 1996), *Persepolis*, *Persepolis*, *Persepolis* 2.1, which states that Kronos was the god of the underworld.

<sup>5</sup> *Zeus, Kronos, and the Muses* (Santiago: Editorial del Bazar, 1996), *Persepolis*, *Persepolis* 2.1, which states that Kronos was the god of the underworld.

<sup>6</sup> Kouravsky, "Kronos and the iconography of Kronos: Formulation of a type in the J. Paul Getty Museum," *Antiquity* 70 (1996): 28–32.





Figure 1.3 Alexandrian coin of Antonine *aureus*, representing the Egyptian Kronos.  
Drawing by R. Kozłowski



Figure 1.4 Small bronze statue of the Egyptian Kronos in Corroia, Museum of the  
Lusitana Academy and of the City of Corroia (photograph by the author).  
Reproduced with permission of the Museum of the Lusitana Academy.

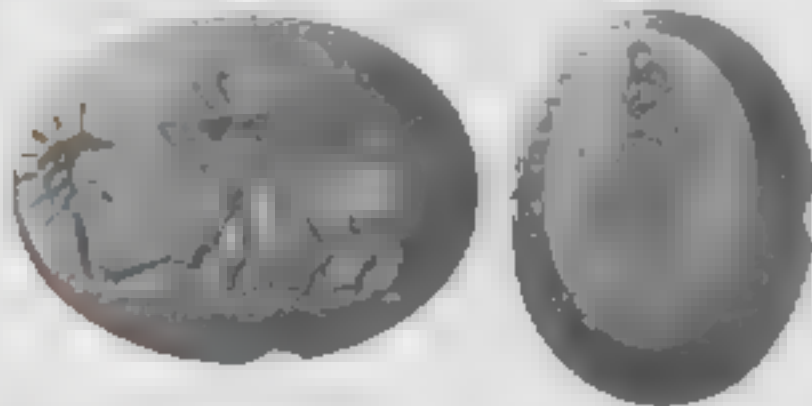


Figure 1.5 Green and yellowish-brown papyrus in Hamburg, the Skoldja collection, represent-  
ing Kronos' *tyche*.  
Photograph by S. Mäkelä, repeated with her permission.



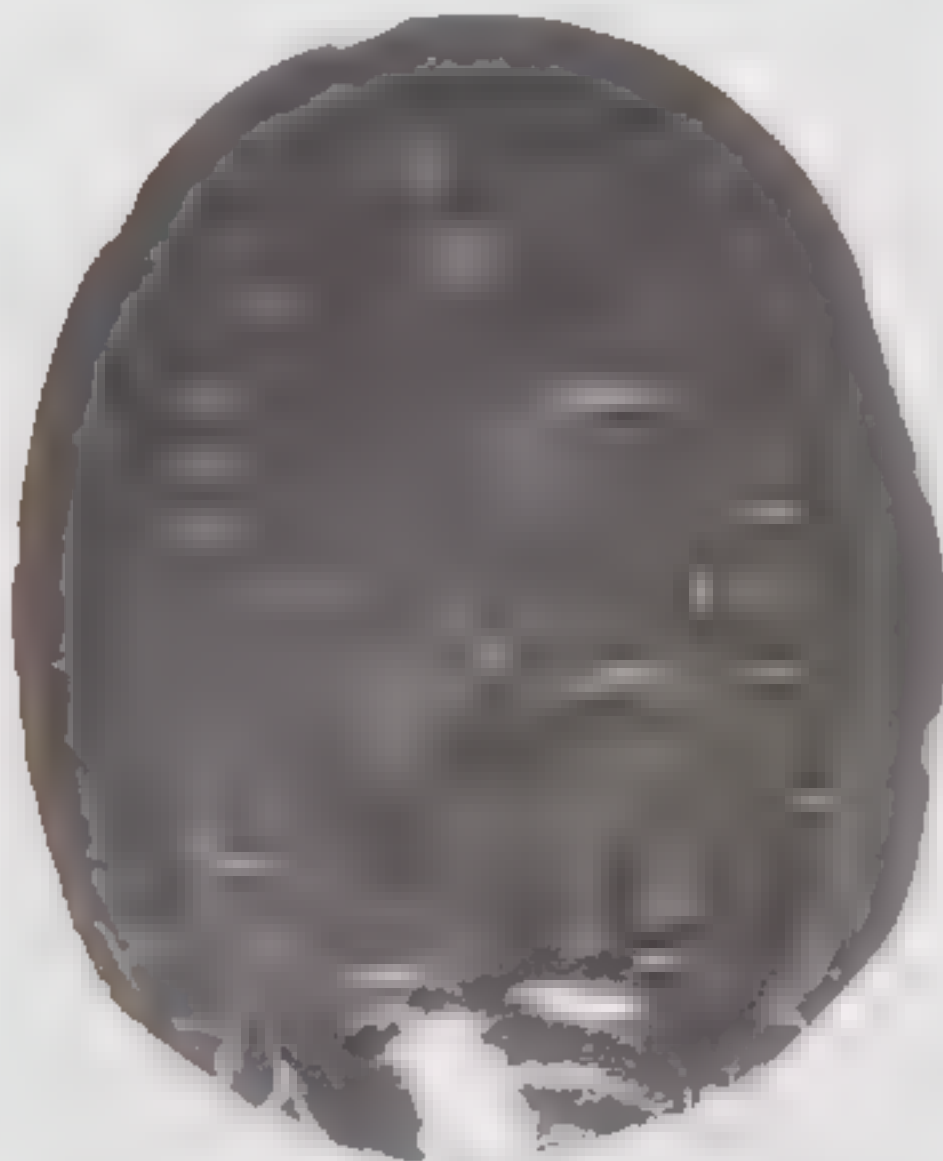


Figure 1.64. Pectoral in the Kelsey Museum, Ann Arbor, representing Kronos-Sikha (photograph by the author).

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down towards his genitals. Aphrodite is to be engraved behind him, shoulder to shoulder, and she is gazing at him.<sup>7</sup> Such an amulet made its wearers impotent or effeminate. This amulet was concealed in the center, on the inner side of Aphrodite's leather ribbon, the *κροτοῖς ἵμῳ*. On the outer side stood 12 gems, which produced different love incantations. This





to the mythology of magical papyri. These beliefs were supported by a passage of Homer's *Iliad*<sup>1</sup>:

I said: Hecate am taring to cast the limits of the all-nourishing earth, and Oceanus, from whom the gods are sprung, and mother Tethys, even them that lovingly nursed and cherished me in their halls, when they had taken me from Rheia, what fate? *Zelus*, whose voice is bitter afar, thrust Cronos down to dwell beneath earth and the unending sea. Then am I taring to cast you, and will house you there, their endless state, since now far a long time's space they hold about me from the other from the marriage-bed and from love, for that wrath hath come upon their hearts.

The gem dates from the second century, and, in any case, no later than the third century AD. This is proof that in the middle years of the Imperial Age the topics of the *Kronos* were well known.

If we take a look at the Bologna gem, it is evident that Kronos is holding his genitals in his right hand.<sup>2</sup> He holds his genitals on the gem in the Getty Museum as well. The Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg contains a third gem (a green and brown-yellow stone) with Kronos's image.<sup>3</sup> On this gem, the god stands over his hooked sword, the *harpe*, and holds the same object seen in the Bologna specimen. On the reverse side, the *Sistrôlogos* is legible and a small cynocephalic monkey riding the back of a lion is visible.

Two yellow and green jaspers in the Skoludis collection (Hamburg)<sup>4</sup> (Figures 1.3A and B) and in the J. Paul Getty Museum<sup>5</sup> show Kronos, and, on the other side, the monkey riding on the back of a lion, surrounded by the *Sistrôlogos*. It is difficult to recognize what Kronos holds in these specimens. A green and yellow jasper kept in the Cabinet des Médailles<sup>6</sup> (Figure 1.3C) shows the same image—a monkey riding the lion; on the obverse side, the *Sistrôlogos* suggests that the gem is of the same series, and that the god represented is Kronos. Here he resembles Harpokrates (i.e., Horus, the child); his right hand rests near his mouth. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that this is Kronos because a *phallakter* supports him—a character similar to the hieroglyph that represents water.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, XIV, 200-215, V. L. Mastrorosso trans.

<sup>2</sup> A. N. S. 100, p. 100, fig. 100. For a discussion of the Bologna gem, see H. J. Bräunischling, no. 78, I. Bräunischling, *Die Gemmen des Kaiserlichen Museums in Berlin*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1875), I, 140, II, 140, fig. 140, 141. The gem is now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Inv. Nr. 1875, 140.

<sup>3</sup> M. N. S. 100, p. 100, fig. 100. For a discussion of the gem, see H. J. Bräunischling, no. 78, I. Bräunischling, *Die Gemmen des Kaiserlichen Museums in Berlin*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1875), I, 140, II, 140, fig. 140, 141.

<sup>4</sup> S. Michel, *Die Gemmen des Kaiserlichen Museums in Berlin*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1875), I, 140, II, 140, fig. 140, 141. The gem is now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Inv. Nr. 1875, 140.

<sup>5</sup> J. Paul Getty Museum, no. 100, fig. 100.

<sup>6</sup> J. Paul Getty Museum, no. 100, fig. 100. Kronos and water will be discussed in subsequent paragraphs and especially in footnote 62.



Figure 1.7A Green and yellow asps in Hamburg, the Medici collection, representing the Egyptian Kronos and serpents coiling on the back of a lion.

Photograph by S. Michel, reproduced with her permission.

The prayer in the fourth magical papyrus, which follows "an appeal to "the snake, the lion, fire, water, and the tree," is devoted to Horus Harpokrates, the lord of the sun. The prayer to "the snake, the lion, fire, water, and the tree" is offered to Kronos, who is identified with the sea god Proteus, as we will see in the chapter devoted to the reverse side of the gem in Bologna.

Kronos and Harpokrates were invoked in the same prayer. There is no contradiction in this. Harpokrates was the shape the sun took during the day, whereas Kronos-Osiris was its image at night. Evidently the author of the spell maintained that Kronos-Harpokrates was a single god with various shapes. This fact could help to explain the shape of the Kronos on the gems, who is making the gesture common to Harpokrates.

The Egyptian Suchos-Kronos was worshipped with a similar and younger god. A recent contribution by Gaëlle Lallet observes:

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 \*PGM IV, 963 ff.



Figure 1.7B. Reverse side.

In the Egyptian, the god of sun and kingdom and the regeneration of the cosmos was depicted in two crescent-like, young and an aging, one, deemed to be a form of the sun god, or Homs, and of the evening sun regenerated during the night. These crescents clearly belong to two different generations, as Ra is often depicted as a child in the morning, as a mature grown-up man at zenith, and as an old man in the evening, and as Horus and Homs are father and son. I think the two faces of the god with a crescent, beardless when young and bearded when aging, are not of the same age and refer to different moments of a continuous cycle. As a matter of fact, in Tebtanis, Soknopiteion, alias Krontos, shared his shrine with a younger crescent's Son of Ra Horakhty, and in Roman Soknopiteion



Figure 1. KM. Green and yellow paper on the left shows Michelangelo's *Peter*, representing the Egyptian Kronos and *emmetes* (insects) on the right (close photograph by the author).

Reprinted with permission from *Journal of the American Museum of Natural History*.

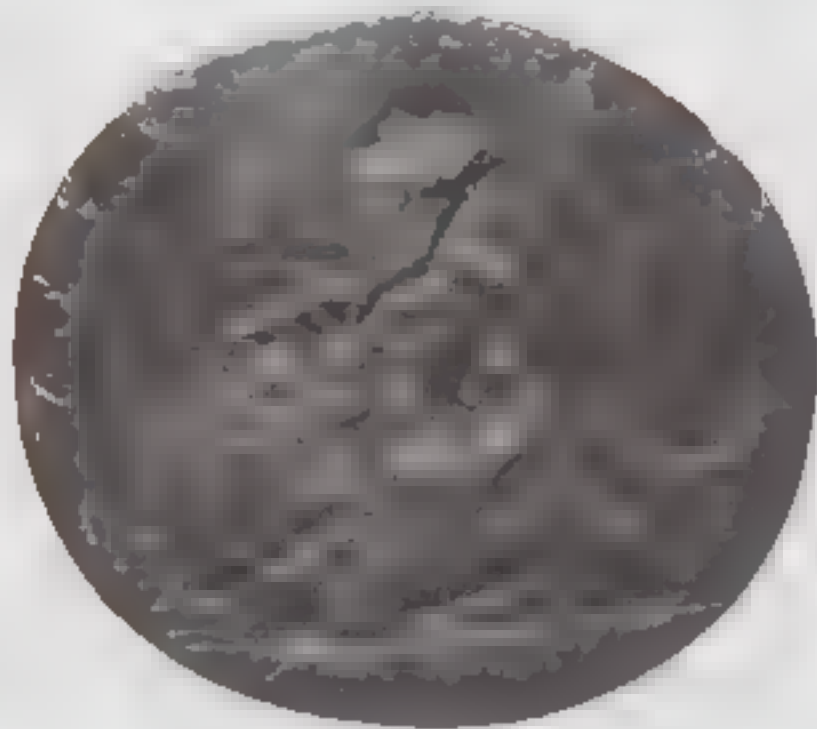
Nessus, the two secondary gods, Soknopaios and Soknopaios, were probably Mya's son and a father. The former one, Soknopaios, could be depicted as a bird-headed or a crocodile.

Therefore, we deduce that this form of Kronos represents the younger god, similar to Horus.

### THE EMASCULATED KRONOS

The *Kyrtoules* passage about obsidian as well as the doctrine that inspired the design of the Bologna gem, derive from speculations by Hellenistic

<sup>1</sup> *Lettere*, 114, 2, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

[illegible]

4. In the end, however, a late-ancient text "ascribes to each zodiac sign a temple, a plant, and a stone. The 'sacred stone' is attributed to Capricorn. According to ancient astrology, Kronos's "home" was in Capricorn. It is important to note that obsidian was the stone used for castration as well as for circumcision."

\*1. Weingarten, T. *Die Mineralquellen der Südtiroler Alpen*. Innsbruck: Verlagsanstalt Wagner, 1904. 160 S. (v. J. Permann, Ed.).  
Verlag Wagner, Innsbruck. 1904. 160 S. Mit 1 Karte. Mit 10 Abbildungen. Preis 1,50.

[illegible][illegible]





Figure 1.9B. Reverse side.

interpreted rather as the fallen genitals of the god. He is therefore looking at the genitals and turning his head back to despise the woman gazing at him.

### THE REVERSE SIDE

Our attention now turns to the iconography on the reverse side of the Bolognagamme, Figure 1.9B. Here a lion stands over a leontoképhalic snake whose head is surrounded by rays, like Chironis. As I have already argued,<sup>32</sup> this animal iconography represented the metamorphoses of Kronos. In fact, the Vatican Mythographer (an anonymous writer of a Vatican manuscript of mythology, in three books)<sup>33</sup> reports that the head

<sup>32</sup> *Vatican Mythographer*, 1991, 1992, 1993. The iconography had been formerly interpreted as Herakles slaying a lioness (cf. Wilmanns, "Kronos und Herakles", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 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2887, 2888, 2889, 2890, 2891, 2892, 2893, 2894, 2895, 2896, 2897, 2898, 2899, 2900, 2901, 2902, 2903, 2904, 2905, 2906, 2907, 2908, 2909, 2910, 2911, 2912, 2913, 2914, 2915, 2916, 2917, 2918, 2919, 2920, 2921, 2922, 2923, 2924, 2925, 2926, 2927, 2928, 2929, 2930, 2931, 2932, 2933, 2934, 2935, 2936, 2937, 2938, 2939, 2940, 2941, 2942, 2943, 2944, 2945, 2946, 2947, 2948, 2949, 2950, 2951, 2952, 2953, 2954, 2955, 2956, 2957, 2958, 2959, 2960, 2961, 2962, 2963, 2964, 2965, 2966, 2967, 2968, 2969, 2970, 2971, 2972, 2973, 2974, 2975, 2976, 2977, 2978, 2979, 2980, 2981, 2982, 2983, 2984, 2985, 2986, 2987, 2988, 2989, 2990, 2991, 2992, 2993, 2994, 2995, 2996, 2997, 2998, 2999, 3000, 3001, 3002, 3003, 3004, 3005, 3006, 3007, 3008, 3009, 3010, 3011, 3012, 3013, 3014, 3015, 3016, 3017, 3018, 3019, 3020, 3021, 3022, 3023, 3024, 3025, 3026, 3027, 3028, 3029, 3030, 3031, 3032, 3033, 3034, 3035, 3036, 3037, 3038, 3039, 3040, 3041, 3042, 3043, 3044, 3045, 3046, 3047, 3048, 3049, 3050, 3051, 3052, 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3551, 3552, 3553, 3554, 3555, 3556, 3557, 3558, 3559, 3560, 3561, 3562, 3563, 3564, 3565, 3566, 3567, 3568, 3569, 3570, 3571, 3572, 3573, 3574, 3575, 3576, 3577, 3578, 3579, 3580, 3581, 3582, 3583, 3584, 3585, 3586, 3587, 3588, 3589, 3590, 3591, 3592, 3593, 3594, 3595, 3596, 3597, 3598, 3599, 3600, 3601, 3602, 3603, 3604, 3605, 3606, 3607, 3608, 3609, 3610, 3611, 3612, 3613, 3614, 3615, 3616, 3617, 3618, 3619, 3620, 3621, 3622, 3623, 3624, 3625, 3626, 3627, 3628, 3629, 3630, 3631, 3632, 3633, 3634, 3635, 3636, 3637, 3638, 3639, 3640, 3641, 3642, 3643, 3644, 3645, 3646, 3647, 3648, 3649, 3650, 3651, 3652, 3653, 3654, 3655, 3656, 3657, 3658, 3659, 3660, 3661, 3662, 3663, 3664, 3665, 3666, 3667, 3668, 3669, 3670, 3671, 3672, 3673, 3674, 3675, 3676, 3677, 3678, 3679, 3680, 3681, 3682, 3683, 3684, 3685, 3686, 3687, 3688, 3689, 3690, 3691, 3692, 3693, 3694, 3695, 3696, 3697, 3698, 3699, 3700, 3701, 3702, 3703, 3704, 3705, 3706, 3707, 3708, 3709, 3710, 3711, 3712, 3713, 3714, 3715, 3716, 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Menelaos, Proteus transforms into a lion, a snake, a panther, a large bear, then turns himself into water and finally into a tree.

A prayer to the sun in a spell found in the great magical Papyrus of Paris, which merges Egyptian and Jewish-Christian elements, is to be recited in front of the rising sun and later in front of a lamp; it begins thus:

Hail, Snake and invisible lion, natural sources of fire. And hail, clear water and lion-seated tree!"

Identification between Kronos and a sea god<sup>11</sup> is predictable because the Babylonian god Ea, god of sea water and of magic, was called "Kronos" by the Greeks; Marduk, on the other hand, was called "Zeus." According to the Ptolemaic "Christian" sect, Kronos was identified with the biblical god; he was also a hermaphrodite god of watery substances.<sup>12</sup> The Pythagoreans believed the sea was formed out of Kronos's tears.<sup>13</sup> The later Neoplatonists gave Kronos and his planet sovereignty over water.<sup>14</sup> In the next chapter we will analyze the identification of Kronos with Osiris, who was another god of water, particularly of the flooding of the Nile.

The multicultural magic used during the Imperial Age endorsed the myth of Proteus, as stated by Ptolemy the Elder<sup>15</sup>: "It, indeed, we are willing to grant that his [viz. Homer's] accounts of Proteus and of the songs of the Sirens are to be understood in this sense [viz. as evidence of magic arts]. The Gnostic sect of the Naassenes believed Proteus was the god who moved the heavenly pole. They identified him with the Phrygian god

<sup>11</sup> PROCLUS, *Commentaire à Platon*, tome 2, *Timée*, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

<sup>12</sup> P. LAMPROL, *Le Gnosticisme*, 1908, 1910, 1912, 1914, 1916, 1918, 1920, 1922, 1924, 1926, 1928, 1930, 1932, 1934, 1936, 1938, 1940, 1942, 1944, 1946, 1948, 1950, 1952, 1954, 1956, 1958, 1960, 1962, 1964, 1966, 1968, 1970, 1972, 1974, 1976, 1978, 1980, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016, 2018, 2020, 2022, 2024, 2026, 2028, 2030, 2032, 2034, 2036, 2038, 2040, 2042, 2044, 2046, 2048, 2050, 2052, 2054, 2056, 2058, 2060, 2062, 2064, 2066, 2068, 2070, 2072, 2074, 2076, 2078, 2080, 2082, 2084, 2086, 2088, 2090, 2092, 2094, 2096, 2098, 2100, 2102, 2104, 2106, 2108, 2110, 2112, 2114, 2116, 2118, 2120, 2122, 2124, 2126, 2128, 2130, 2132, 2134, 2136, 2138, 2140, 2142, 2144, 2146, 2148, 2150, 2152, 2154, 2156, 2158, 2160, 2162, 2164, 2166, 2168, 2170, 2172, 2174, 2176, 2178, 2180, 2182, 2184, 2186, 2188, 2190, 2192, 2194, 2196, 2198, 2200, 2202, 2204, 2206, 2208, 2210, 2212, 2214, 2216, 2218, 2220, 2222, 2224, 2226, 2228, 2230, 2232, 2234, 2236, 2238, 2240, 2242, 2244, 2246, 2248, 2250, 2252, 2254, 2256, 2258, 2260, 2262, 2264, 2266, 2268, 2270, 2272, 2274, 2276, 2278, 2280, 2282, 2284, 2286, 2288, 2290, 2292, 2294, 2296, 2298, 2300, 2302, 2304, 2306, 2308, 2310, 2312, 2314, 2316, 2318, 2320, 2322, 2324, 2326, 2328, 2330, 2332, 2334, 2336, 2338, 2340, 2342, 2344, 2346, 2348, 2350, 2352, 2354, 2356, 2358, 2360, 2362, 2364, 2366, 2368, 2370, 2372, 2374, 2376, 2378, 2380, 2382, 2384, 2386, 2388, 2390, 2392, 2394, 2396, 2398, 2400, 2402, 2404, 2406, 2408, 2410, 2412, 2414, 2416, 2418, 2420, 2422, 2424, 2426, 2428, 2430, 2432, 2434, 2436, 2438, 2440, 2442, 2444, 2446, 2448, 2450, 2452, 2454, 2456, 2458, 2460, 2462, 2464, 2466, 2468, 2470, 2472, 2474, 2476, 2478, 2480, 2482, 2484, 2486, 2488, 2490, 2492, 2494, 2496, 2498, 2500, 2502, 2504, 2506, 2508, 2510, 2512, 2514, 2516, 2518, 2520, 2522, 2524, 2526, 2528, 2530, 2532, 2534, 2536, 2538, 2540, 2542, 2544, 2546, 2548, 2550, 2552, 2554, 2556, 2558, 2560, 2562, 2564, 2566, 2568, 2570, 2572, 2574, 2576, 2578, 2580, 2582, 2584, 2586, 2588, 2590, 2592, 2594, 2596, 2598, 2600, 2602, 2604, 2606, 2608, 2610, 2612, 2614, 2616, 2618, 2620, 2622, 2624, 2626, 2628, 2630, 2632, 2634, 2636, 2638, 2640, 2642, 2644, 2646, 2648, 2650, 2652, 2654, 2656, 2658, 2660, 2662, 2664, 2666, 2668, 2670, 2672, 2674, 2676, 2678, 2680, 2682, 2684, 2686, 2688, 2690, 2692, 2694, 2696, 2698, 2700, 2702, 2704, 2706, 2708, 2710, 2712, 2714, 2716, 2718, 2720, 2722, 2724, 2726, 2728, 2730, 2732, 2734, 2736, 2738, 2740, 2742, 2744, 2746, 2748, 2750, 2752, 2754, 2756, 2758, 2760, 2762, 2764, 2766, 2768, 2770, 2772, 2774, 2776, 2778, 2780, 2782, 2784, 2786, 2788, 2790, 2792, 2794, 2796, 2798, 2800, 2802, 2804, 2806, 2808, 2810, 2812, 2814, 2816, 2818, 2820, 2822, 2824, 2826, 2828, 2830, 2832, 2834, 2836, 2838, 2840, 2842, 2844, 2846, 2848, 2850, 2852, 2854, 2856, 2858, 2860, 2862, 2864, 2866, 2868, 2870, 2872, 2874, 2876, 2878, 2880, 2882, 2884, 2886, 2888, 2890, 2892, 2894, 2896, 2898, 2900, 2902, 2904, 2906, 2908, 2910, 2912, 2914, 2916, 2918, 2920, 2922, 2924, 2926, 2928, 2930, 2932, 2934, 2936, 2938, 2940, 2942, 2944, 2946, 2948, 2950, 2952, 2954, 2956, 2958, 2960, 2962, 2964, 2966, 2968, 2970, 2972, 2974, 2976, 2978, 2980, 2982, 2984, 2986, 2988, 2990, 2992, 2994, 2996, 2998, 3000.

<sup>13</sup> P. LAMPROL, *Le Gnosticisme*, 1908, 1910, 1912, 1914, 1916, 1918, 1920, 1922, 1924, 1926, 1928, 1930, 1932, 1934, 1936, 1938, 1940, 1942, 1944, 1946, 1948, 1950, 1952, 1954, 1956, 1958, 1960, 1962, 1964, 1966, 1968, 1970, 1972, 1974, 1976, 1978, 1980, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016, 2018, 2020, 2022, 2024, 2026, 2028, 2030, 2032, 2034, 2036, 2038, 2040, 2042, 2044, 2046, 2048, 2050, 2052, 2054, 2056, 2058, 2060, 2062, 2064, 2066, 2068, 2070, 2072, 2074, 2076, 2078, 2080, 2082, 2084, 2086, 2088, 2090, 2092, 2094, 2096, 2098, 2100, 2102, 2104, 2106, 2108, 2110, 2112, 2114, 2116, 2118, 2120, 2122, 2124, 2126, 2128, 2130, 2132, 2134, 2136, 2138, 2140, 2142, 2144, 2146, 2148, 2150, 2152, 2154, 2156, 2158, 2160, 2162, 2164, 2166, 2168, 2170, 2172, 2174, 2176, 2178, 2180, 2182, 2184, 2186, 2188, 2190, 2192, 2194, 2196, 2198, 2200, 2202, 2204, 2206, 2208, 2210, 2212, 2214, 2216, 2218, 2220, 2222, 2224, 2226, 2228, 2230, 2232, 2234, 2236, 2238, 2240, 2242, 2244, 2246, 2248, 2250, 2252, 2254, 2256, 2258, 2260, 2262, 2264, 2266, 2268, 2270, 2272, 2274, 2276, 2278, 2280, 2282, 2284, 2286, 2288, 2290, 2292, 2294, 2296, 2298, 2300, 2302, 2304, 2306, 2308, 2310, 2312, 2314, 2316, 2318, 2320, 2322, 2324, 2326, 2328, 2330, 2332, 2334, 2336, 2338, 2340, 2342, 2344, 2346, 2348, 2350, 2352, 2354, 2356, 2358, 2360, 2362, 2364, 2366, 2368, 2370, 2372, 2374, 2376, 2378, 2380, 2382, 2384, 2386, 2388, 2390, 2392, 2394, 2396, 2398, 2400, 2402, 2404, 2406, 2408, 2410, 2412, 2414, 2416, 2418, 2420, 2422, 2424, 2426, 2428, 2430, 2432, 2434, 2436, 2438, 2440, 2442, 2444, 2446, 2448, 2450, 2452, 2454, 2456, 2458, 2460, 2462, 2464, 2466, 2468, 2470, 2472, 2474, 2476, 2478, 2480, 2482, 2484, 2486, 2488, 2490, 2492, 2494, 2496, 2498, 2500, 2502, 2504, 2506, 2508, 2510, 2512, 2514, 2516, 2518, 2520, 2522, 2524, 2526, 2528, 2530, 2532, 2534, 2536, 2538, 2540, 2542, 2544, 2546, 2548, 2550, 2552, 2554, 2556, 2558, 2560, 2562, 2564, 2566, 2568, 2570, 2572, 2574, 2576, 2578, 2580, 2582, 2584, 2586, 2588, 2590, 2592, 2594, 2596, 2598, 2600, 2602, 2604, 2606, 2608, 2610, 2612, 2614, 2616, 2618, 2620, 2622, 2624, 2626, 2628, 2630, 2632, 2634, 2636, 2638, 2640, 2642, 2644, 2646, 2648, 2650, 2652, 2654, 2656, 2658, 2660, 2662, 2664, 2666, 2668, 2670, 2672, 2674, 2676, 2678, 2680, 2682, 2684, 2686, 2688, 2690, 2692, 2694, 2696, 2698, 2700, 2702, 2704, 2706, 2708, 2710, 2712, 2714, 2716, 2718, 2720, 2722, 2724, 2726, 2728, 2730, 2732, 2734, 2736, 2738, 2740, 2742, 2744, 2746, 2748, 2750, 2752, 2754, 2756, 2758, 2760, 2762, 2764, 2766, 2768, 2770, 2772, 2774, 2776, 2778, 2780, 2782, 2784, 2786, 2788, 2790, 2792, 2794, 2796, 2798, 2800, 2802, 2804, 2806, 2808, 2810, 2812, 2814, 2816, 2818, 2820, 2822, 2824, 2826, 2828, 2830, 2832, 2834, 2836, 2838, 2840, 2842, 2844, 2846, 2848, 2850, 2852, 2854, 2856, 2858, 2860, 2862, 2864, 2866, 2868, 2870, 2872, 2874, 2876, 2878, 2880, 2882, 2884, 2886, 2888, 2890, 2892, 2894, 2896, 2898, 2900, 2902, 2904, 2906, 2908, 2910, 2912, 2914, 2916, 2918, 2920, 2922, 2924, 2926, 2928, 2930, 2932, 2934, 2936, 2938, 2940, 2942, 2944, 2946, 2948, 2950, 2952, 2954, 2956, 2958, 2960, 2962, 2964, 2966, 2968, 2970, 2972, 2974, 2976, 2978, 2980, 2982, 2984, 2986, 2988, 2990, 2992, 2994, 2996, 2998, 3000.

<sup>14</sup> P. LAMPROL, *Le Gnosticisme*, 1908, 1910, 1912, 1914, 1916, 1918, 1920, 1922, 1924, 1926, 1928, 1930, 1932, 1934, 1936, 1938, 1940, 1942, 1944, 1946, 1948, 1950, 1952, 1954, 1956, 1958, 1960, 1962, 1964, 1966, 1968, 1970, 1972, 1974, 1976, 1978, 1980, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016, 2018, 2020, 2022, 2024, 2026, 2028, 2030, 2032, 2034, 2036, 2038, 2040, 2042, 2044, 2046, 2048, 2050, 2052, 2054, 2056, 2058, 2060, 2062, 2064, 2066, 2068, 2070, 2072, 2074, 2076, 2078, 2080, 2082,

Polykarpos.<sup>16</sup> This god was prophetic, procreator, and—at least partially—serpentine. To remind us of these identifications, the constellation of Draco (Latin for “snake”) sits on the cosmic pole. In the mithraic mysteries the leontocephalic god Bragiter was worshipped; his head corresponds to that of the leontocephalic Aion, who is represented on the top of the cosmic globe in the fresco of the Barberini mithraeum.<sup>17</sup> His name, Bragiter, seems to correspond to Polykarpos. The leontocephalic god of Mithraism was also a hyperborean god—he had features of Chronos (Time) and Herakles—whose cosmic manifestation was that of Kronos.<sup>18</sup>

The hermaphroditic nature of the highest god is a feature that occurs not only in Gnosticism and other doctrines followed during the Imperial Age. As we will see in chapter 5, hermaphroditism is also present in very different cultural environments, such as Indian or Egyptian religions.<sup>19</sup> The god on the gem, moreover, is emasculated, not hermaphroditic. In the Greek *Theogonies*, Kronos was the father of many gods. Evidently his castration happened after his theogonic phase. The Neoplatonists applied the term *arsenothelys*, “hermaphrodite,” to Attis, the emasculated god.<sup>20</sup> Also it is possible that a complete refusal of sex was supposed to be equivalent to divine hermaphroditism, and that each religious stream thought of the refusal of sex by the god differently.

## MANY FORMS OF KRONOS AND OF THE JEWISH GOD

The reverse side of the Bologna gem shows a triple animal form of the god: a lion, a snake, and a bull. This triple nature is also seen on the gem

<sup>16</sup> Hippolytus, *Refutatione omnium heresicon* V. 16. Hippolytus identifies Kronos with Chronos, based on the Ptolemaic identification of the constellation of Draco with Kronos. See Hippolytus, *Refutatione omnium heresicon* V. 16. On the identity of the deities, see also Hippolytus, *Refutatione omnium heresicon* V. 16. On the identity of the deities, see also Hippolytus, *Refutatione omnium heresicon* V. 16.

<sup>17</sup> A. Bragiter, *Refutatione omnium heresicon* V. 16. Bragiter is identified with the leontocephalic Aion, who is represented on the top of the cosmic globe in the fresco of the Barberini mithraeum. See A. Bragiter, *Refutatione omnium heresicon* V. 16. Bragiter is identified with the leontocephalic Aion, who is represented on the top of the cosmic globe in the fresco of the Barberini mithraeum. See A. Bragiter, *Refutatione omnium heresicon* V. 16.

<sup>18</sup> M. J. Vermaseren, *The Mithraic Mysteries*, Cambridge, 1963, p. 11. The Hymn to Bragiter, *Refutatione omnium heresicon* V. 16.

<sup>19</sup> See, for instance, *Refutatione omnium heresicon* V. 16. On the identity of the deities, see also Hippolytus, *Refutatione omnium heresicon* V. 16. On the identity of the deities, see also Hippolytus, *Refutatione omnium heresicon* V. 16.

<sup>20</sup> Z. Bragiter, *Refutatione omnium heresicon* V. 16. Bragiter is identified with the leontocephalic Aion, who is represented on the top of the cosmic globe in the fresco of the Barberini mithraeum. See A. Bragiter, *Refutatione omnium heresicon* V. 16. Bragiter is identified with the leontocephalic Aion, who is represented on the top of the cosmic globe in the fresco of the Barberini mithraeum. See A. Bragiter, *Refutatione omnium heresicon* V. 16.

Hippolytus, *Refutatione omnium heresicon* V. 16.

in the J. Paul Getty Museum. The gem combines the image of Kronos holding a *harpe* with the names *Ἰάω Καβασιὸς Ἀδωναι*, of *ἰσχυρὸν*. Perhaps these three names correspond to three forms or manifestations of Kronos. During the age of Tacitus, Saturnus (i.e., Kronos) was identified with the Jewish god. The Jewish god had three forms or features in addition to his own: Macrobius in fact reports a famous oracle of Apollo *Klaron*,<sup>1</sup> who, when questioned about *Iao's* nature, replied: "You must know that *Iao* is the most great among the gods, who is Hades in winter, Zeus when spring comes, Helios in summer, and the mighty *Iao* in autumn." Three Hebrew names, *Iao Sabaoth Adonai*, correspond to three animal features: a snake, a lion, and a bear. The Jewish god as a snake and a lion was known to the Gnostics, especially in the compound form of *Chimouris* (or *Chimobis*), the lionheaded snake. Indeed, the snake and the lion merge into one form: *Chimouris*. There is no specific reason for such an iconography on the gems of Kronos. The only possible explanation is that *Chimouris* is considered to be lord of the Nile flood and of every watery substance. Agnost depicts this god with the hieroglyph that signifies water, the same hieroglyph accompanies Harpokrates. Kronos on the gem in the Cabinet des Médailles (see Fig. 1.8). Pagan magicians we have seen, shared the idea of a great god in the form of a lion and a snake. "Ead, Snake and immovable lion," was the prayer to the prophetic god. The bishop Ephraïmus testifies that some Gnostic thinkers claimed that the Jewish god took the form of a pig. This strange belief does not depend on the famous prohibition of pork,<sup>2</sup> but on the bear's feature of Kronos: *Adhwei*. The manifestations of the great prophetic

$$h = \frac{1}{2} \left( \frac{1}{\mu_1} + \frac{1}{\mu_2} \right) \quad \text{for } \mu_1 \neq \mu_2$$
$$| \dots | \leq 12 \sqrt{2} \sqrt{1 + \frac{1}{2} \sqrt{2}} \approx 17.4$$

\* Aligned: The first column of the Mandelstam matrix corresponds to the incoming particles, the second column to the outgoing particles.

[illegible]
$$\{p_{\alpha} \in \mathcal{P}_n : p_{\alpha} = \sum_{i=1}^n \alpha_i p_i, \alpha_i \geq 0, \sum_{i=1}^n \alpha_i = 1, \text{ and } p_{\alpha}(x) \geq 0, \forall x \in [0, 1], p_{\alpha}(0) \geq 1\}$$

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[illegible]



Sabbath.<sup>2</sup> The seventh day of the week was considered sacred to Saturnus (Saturday, identified with Sabbath) and corresponded to the Shabbat.

The later Neoplatonist Damascius<sup>11</sup> states that Pythagoreans and Platonians assigned to Kronos the number seven, which encapsulates unity and triplicity. Indeed, again we are faced with doctrines and speculations that were shared by Gnostic thinkers, magicians, and learned pagans. Similar cases are frequent. The gems testify to speculations on the asexual, hermaphroditic, and sexfold nature of the Jewish god. One can remember the long disquisition of Hippolytos, in the fifth book of his *Refutation*, on Neoplatonic themes. To explain the mysterious sexuality of their supreme god, they resorted to the myths of Attis. It is evident that the iconography of the gems in Bologna, Hamburg, and Santa Monica trace back to Chaldean speculations on the Jewish god and speculations of Gnostic thinkers. Plotinus testified that Gnostic thinkers attended his school and that many of them persisted in their beliefs. Forms of cultural osmosis occurred between pagans and Gnostics. Nevertheless, the iconography of Kronos and the comparison with the *Kyranos* leads one to assign the gem in Bologna to pagan environments.

## SARAPIS AND THE JEWISH GOD

The identification of the Jewish god with Kronos runs parallel to Kronos's identification with Sarapis, i.e., the Hellenistic form of Osiris, a god whose image was often equated with Yahweh. In fact, Sarapis was invoked with names or formulas of the Jewish god. For example, we read beside him  $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \Sigma\alpha\rho\alpha\pi\iota\varsigma = \Sigma\alpha\rho\alpha\pi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , or  $\tau\omicron\iota\ \Sigma\alpha\rho\alpha\pi\iota\varsigma\ \xi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\iota$  or  $\gamma\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \Sigma\alpha\rho\alpha\pi\iota\varsigma$ . Several gems represent Sarapis

[illegible]
$$\| (1_{\mathbb{R}^n} - \delta_{\mathbb{R}^n} \otimes \delta_{\mathbb{R}^n}) \otimes \delta_{\mathbb{R}^n} \|_{\mathcal{L}(\mathbb{R}^n \otimes \mathbb{R}^n \otimes \mathbb{R}^n)} = \| 1_{\mathbb{R}^n} - \delta_{\mathbb{R}^n} \|_{\mathcal{L}(\mathbb{R}^n)} = 1, \quad \delta_{\mathbb{R}^n} \otimes \delta_{\mathbb{R}^n} \otimes \delta_{\mathbb{R}^n} = 0.$$
$$f = \pi^{-\frac{1}{2}} \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} e^{itx} f(t) dt, \quad |f|_2 = \|f\|_2.$$
[illegible]

5. *Supersingular curves* (MCC-17-12-19-16) (see Derksen, no. 103, 1–5). *W. Kuyk, The Fermat curve and its automorphisms* (London Math. Soc. 1987), p. 171, other examples are found in F. Le Duzat, *Sur les courbes de Fermat singulières*, *Math. Ann.* (1905) 58:333–349; K. Ueno, [1898], no. 103, 10.

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Figure 1.10 Green and red stained paper in the Schröda collection, Hamburg, representing *Schizophrax* sp. *Spont.*

Phenylacetylene by A. M. Khet, unpublished, and by Zaitsev et al.

and bear the inscription 'Azzōthraia,' which is an equivalent of 'Iōzōthraia' or 'Iaxōthraia', the name the Canaanites used to call the brilliant creator. These gems represent Sarapis on his boat (Figure 1.10), with a scarab flying from his head. The inscription refers to the scarab, for a series of gems show the scarab with the inscription 'Iōzōthraia zōthōn zephōnō.' The scarab took the form of the rising sun, the young sun, and Abdiashm represents the Semitic word *yahel*, *yahel*, 'young,' 'child,' 'son.' Other specimens with the scarab bear the name 'Iōn, Iōn, that is, Yahweh.' Two passages in the magical papyri consider Abdiashm as the creator god. Two others<sup>11</sup> say that Abdiashm is the Egyptian name for the sun, and it is equivalent to Abrasax.

[illegible]

For  $\alpha = 0.1$ ,  $P(\hat{\theta} \in N(\theta_0, \frac{1}{n})) = 0.8$ ,  $M = 1000$ ,  $\hat{\theta} = 0.1$ ,  $\theta_0 = 0.1$ ,  $\theta_1 = 0.2$ ,  $\theta_2 = 0.3$ ,  $\theta_3 = 0.4$ ,  $\theta_4 = 0.5$ ,  $\theta_5 = 0.6$ ,  $\theta_6 = 0.7$ ,  $\theta_7 = 0.8$ ,  $\theta_8 = 0.9$ ,  $\theta_9 = 1.0$ ,  $\theta_{10} = 1.1$ ,  $\theta_{11} = 1.2$ ,  $\theta_{12} = 1.3$ ,  $\theta_{13} = 1.4$ ,  $\theta_{14} = 1.5$ ,  $\theta_{15} = 1.6$ ,  $\theta_{16} = 1.7$ ,  $\theta_{17} = 1.8$ ,  $\theta_{18} = 1.9$ ,  $\theta_{19} = 2.0$ ,  $\theta_{20} = 2.1$ ,  $\theta_{21} = 2.2$ ,  $\theta_{22} = 2.3$ ,  $\theta_{23} = 2.4$ ,  $\theta_{24} = 2.5$ ,  $\theta_{25} = 2.6$ ,  $\theta_{26} = 2.7$ ,  $\theta_{27} = 2.8$ ,  $\theta_{28} = 2.9$ ,  $\theta_{29} = 3.0$ ,  $\theta_{30} = 3.1$ ,  $\theta_{31} = 3.2$ ,  $\theta_{32} = 3.3$ ,  $\theta_{33} = 3.4$ ,  $\theta_{34} = 3.5$ ,  $\theta_{35} = 3.6$ ,  $\theta_{36} = 3.7$ ,  $\theta_{37} = 3.8$ ,  $\theta_{38} = 3.9$ ,  $\theta_{39} = 4.0$ ,  $\theta_{40} = 4.1$ ,  $\theta_{41} = 4.2$ ,  $\theta_{42} = 4.3$ ,  $\theta_{43} = 4.4$ ,  $\theta_{44} = 4.5$ ,  $\theta_{45} = 4.6$ ,  $\theta_{46} = 4.7$ ,  $\theta_{47} = 4.8$ ,  $\theta_{48} = 4.9$ ,  $\theta_{49} = 5.0$ ,  $\theta_{50} = 5.1$ ,  $\theta_{51} = 5.2$ ,  $\theta_{52} = 5.3$ ,  $\theta_{53} = 5.4$ ,  $\theta_{54} = 5.5$ ,  $\theta_{55} = 5.6$ ,  $\theta_{56} = 5.7$ ,  $\theta_{57} = 5.8$ ,  $\theta_{58} = 5.9$ ,  $\theta_{59} = 6.0$ ,  $\theta_{60} = 6.1$ ,  $\theta_{61} = 6.2$ ,  $\theta_{62} = 6.3$ ,  $\theta_{63} = 6.4$ ,  $\theta_{64} = 6.5$ ,  $\theta_{65} = 6.6$ ,  $\theta_{66} = 6.7$ ,  $\theta_{67} = 6.8$ ,  $\theta_{68} = 6.9$ ,  $\theta_{69} = 7.0$ ,  $\theta_{70} = 7.1$ ,  $\theta_{71} = 7.2$ ,  $\theta_{72} = 7.3$ ,  $\theta_{73} = 7.4$ ,  $\theta_{74} = 7.5$ ,  $\theta_{75} = 7.6$ ,  $\theta_{76} = 7.7$ ,  $\theta_{77} = 7.8$ ,  $\theta_{78} = 7.9$ ,  $\theta_{79} = 8.0$ ,  $\theta_{80} = 8.1$ ,  $\theta_{81} = 8.2$ ,  $\theta_{82} = 8.3$ ,  $\theta_{83} = 8.4$ ,  $\theta_{84} = 8.5$ ,  $\theta_{85} = 8.6$ ,  $\theta_{86} = 8.7$ ,  $\theta_{87} = 8.8$ ,  $\theta_{88} = 8.9$ ,  $\theta_{89} = 9.0$ ,  $\theta_{90} = 9.1$ ,  $\theta_{91} = 9.2$ ,  $\theta_{92} = 9.3$ ,  $\theta_{93} = 9.4$ ,  $\theta_{94} = 9.5$ ,  $\theta_{95} = 9.6$ ,  $\theta_{96} = 9.7$ ,  $\theta_{97} = 9.8$ ,  $\theta_{98} = 9.9$ ,  $\theta_{99} = 10.0$ ,  $\theta_{100} = 10.1$ ,  $\theta_{101} = 10.2$ ,  $\theta_{102} = 10.3$ ,  $\theta_{103} = 10.4$ ,  $\theta_{104} = 10.5$ ,  $\theta_{105} = 10.6$ ,  $\theta_{106} = 10.7$ ,  $\theta_{107} = 10.8$ ,  $\theta_{108} = 10.9$ ,  $\theta_{109} = 11.0$ ,  $\theta_{110} = 11.1$ ,  $\theta_{111} = 11.2$ ,  $\theta_{112} = 11.3$ ,  $\theta_{113} = 11.4$ ,  $\theta_{114} = 11.5$ ,  $\theta_{115} = 11.6$ ,  $\theta_{116} = 11.7$ ,  $\theta_{117} = 11.8$ ,  $\theta_{118} = 11.9$ ,  $\theta_{119} = 12.0$ ,  $\theta_{120} = 12.1$ ,  $\theta_{121} = 12.2$ ,  $\theta_{122} = 12.3$ ,  $\theta_{123} = 12.4$ ,  $\theta_{124} = 12.5$ ,  $\theta_{125} = 12.6$ ,  $\theta_{126} = 12.7$ ,  $\theta_{127} = 12.8$ ,  $\theta_{128} = 12.9$ ,  $\theta_{129} = 13.0$ ,  $\theta_{130} = 13.1$ ,  $\theta_{131} = 13.2$ ,  $\theta_{132} = 13.3$ ,  $\theta_{133} = 13.4$ ,  $\theta_{134} = 13.5$ ,  $\theta_{135} = 13.6$ ,  $\theta_{136} = 13.7$ ,  $\theta_{137} = 13.8$ ,  $\theta_{138} = 13.9$ ,  $\theta_{139} = 14.0$ ,  $\theta_{140} = 14.1$ ,  $\theta_{141} = 14.2$ ,  $\theta_{142} = 14.3$ ,  $\theta_{143} = 14.4$ ,  $\theta_{144} = 14.5$ ,  $\theta_{145} = 14.6$ ,  $\theta_{146} = 14.7$ ,  $\theta_{147} = 14.8$ ,  $\theta_{148} = 14.9$ ,  $\theta_{149} = 15.0$ ,  $\theta_{150} = 15.1$ ,  $\theta_{151} = 15.2$ ,  $\theta_{152} = 15.3$ ,  $\theta_{153} = 15.4$ ,  $\theta_{154} = 15.5$ ,  $\theta_{155} = 15.6$ ,  $\theta_{156} = 15.7$ ,  $\theta_{157} = 15.8$ ,  $\theta_{158} = 15.9$ ,  $\theta_{159} = 16.0$ ,  $\theta_{160} = 16.1$ ,  $\theta_{161} = 16.2$ ,  $\theta_{162} = 16.3$ ,  $\theta_{163} = 16.4$ ,  $\theta_{164} = 16.5$ ,  $\theta_{165} = 16.6$ ,  $\theta_{166} = 16.7$ ,  $\theta_{167} = 16.8$ ,  $\theta_{168} = 16.9$ ,  $\theta_{169} = 17.0$ ,  $\theta_{170} = 17.1$ ,  $\theta_{171} = 17.2$ ,  $\theta_{172} = 17.3$ ,  $\theta_{173} = 17.4$ ,  $\theta_{174} = 17.5$ ,  $\theta_{175} = 17.6$ ,  $\theta_{176} = 17.7$ ,  $\theta_{177} = 17.8$ ,  $\theta_{178} = 17.9$ ,  $\theta_{179} = 18.0$ ,  $\theta_{180} = 18.1$ ,  $\theta_{181} = 18.2$ ,  $\theta_{182} = 18.3$ ,  $\theta_{183} = 18.4$ ,  $\theta_{184} = 18.5$ ,  $\theta_{185} = 18.6$ ,  $\theta_{186} = 18.7$ ,  $\theta_{187} = 18.8$ ,  $\theta_{188} = 18.9$ ,  $\theta_{189} = 19.0$ ,  $\theta_{190} = 19.1$ ,  $\theta_{191} = 19.2$ ,  $\theta_{192} = 19.3$ ,  $\theta_{193} = 19.4$ ,  $\theta_{194} = 19.5$ ,  $\theta_{195} = 19.6$ ,  $\theta_{196} = 19.7$ ,  $\theta_{197} = 19.8$ ,  $\theta_{198} = 19.9$ ,  $\theta_{199} = 20.0$ ,  $\theta_{200} = 20.1$ ,  $\theta_{201} = 20.2$ ,  $\theta_{202} = 20.3$ ,  $\theta_{203} = 20.4$ ,  $\theta_{204} = 20.5$ ,  $\theta_{205} = 20.6$ ,  $\theta_{206} = 20.7$ ,  $\theta_{207} = 20.8$ ,  $\theta_{208} = 20.9$ ,  $\theta_{209} = 21.0$ ,  $\theta_{210} = 21.1$ ,  $\theta_{211} = 21.2$ ,  $\theta_{212} = 21.3$ ,  $\theta_{213} = 21.4$ ,  $\theta_{214} = 21.5$ ,  $\theta_{215} = 21.6$ ,  $\theta_{216} = 21.7$ ,  $\theta_{217} = 21.8$ ,  $\theta_{218} = 21.9$ ,  $\theta_{219} = 22.0$ ,  $\theta_{220} = 22.1$ ,  $\theta_{221} = 22.2$ ,  $\theta_{222} = 22.3$ ,  $\theta_{223} = 22.4$ ,  $\theta_{224} = 22.5$ ,  $\theta_{225} = 22.6$ ,  $\theta_{226} = 22.7$ ,  $\theta_{227} = 22.8$ ,  $\theta_{228} = 22.9$ ,  $\theta_{229} = 23.0$ ,  $\theta_{230} = 23.1$ ,  $\theta_{231} = 23.2$ ,  $\theta_{232} = 23.3$ ,  $\theta_{233} = 23.4$ ,  $\theta_{234} = 23.5$ ,  $\theta_{235} = 2$

Montréal: Éditions Émile Nourissier, 1980. 271 pages. Texte illustré par l'auteur. 1000 exemplaires. 100 \$.

1. M. Schur, *Über Potenzreihen, die im Innern des Einheitskreises beschränkt sind*, *Sitzb. d. Akad. Wiss. Berlin* (1920) 145–165.

$$D_{\text{eff}} = 4.8 \times 10^{-11} \text{ m}^2 \text{ s}^{-1} \quad \text{for } \text{Fe}^{2+} \text{ in } \text{Fe}^{2+} \text{ solution}$$



The well-known acclamation "Ἐ Ζεῦ Σαυωτήρι," found on gems and other monuments, could hardly be completely unrelated to the Jewish idea of one single god, even though "one" often refers to important pagan gods or goddesses.<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy the First promoted the creation of the cult of Sarapis. He required all his subjects to be followers of this cult. The Jewish tradition claims that Ptolemy manifested his devotion to the god in Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> According to the *Historia Augusta*,<sup>3</sup> during the time of Hadrian Christians in Egypt venerated Sarapis. There are no valid reasons to claim that the *Historia Augusta* is wrong in this respect, since at the time of Hadrian the word "Christians" was also used to designate Gnostic Christians. In chapter 2 we will deal further with the identification of Sarapis or Osiris with Khepri.

### THE INSCRIPTION

On the reverse side of the Bologna gem there is a problematic inscription, found within two circles, which says:  $\alpha\chi\alpha\iota\alpha\iota\alpha\ \xi\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha\gamma\iota\sigma\iota\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \beta\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \xi\iota\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \gamma\alpha\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ . We will now consider similar inscriptions found on other gems.

1. The inscription on the Bologna gem is best compared with an agate gem in the Cabinet des Médailles,<sup>1</sup> which shows characters encircled by an *areolatus* snake, and, on the other side, the inscription:  $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\upsilon\phi\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \text{Α} \gamma\omega\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \text{Α} \beta\beta\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\beta\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\iota\ \zeta\omicron\upsilon\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\chi\omicron\ \beta\epsilon\tau\tau\iota\ \chi\omicron\epsilon\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\eta\tau\omicron$ .

1111-1120, 1993.

$$* \quad 1 - \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n \log \left( \frac{Z_i}{Z_i + \sum_{j=1}^n Z_j} \right) = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n \log \left( \frac{Z_i}{Z_i + \sum_{j=1}^n Z_j} \right) = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n \log \left( \frac{Z_i}{Z_i + \sum_{j=1}^n Z_j} \right) = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n \log \left( \frac{Z_i}{Z_i + \sum_{j=1}^n Z_j} \right)$$

1. *Chrysomelidae*: *Chrysomelidae* (Coleoptera: Chrysomelidae) (1891). This is a very old book, but it is still a valuable reference work for the study of the Chrysomelidae. It contains a great deal of information on the biology and habits of the beetles, and on the damage they do to crops. It is a good book to have on the shelf of any entomologist.

Information on the economic situation of the two dependent islands in the independence of the republic of Cuba is not available. The island was situated in a world with, however, a period of the process of development of the island. The first period in the 1950s, the second in the 1960s. The 1950s were the period of the economic development of the island. The 1960s were the period of the economic development of the island. The 1970s were the period of the economic development of the island. The 1980s were the period of the economic development of the island. The 1990s were the period of the economic development of the island. The 2000s were the period of the economic development of the island. The 2010s were the period of the economic development of the island. The 2020s were the period of the economic development of the island.

$$| \mathbf{w}_i \rangle = \frac{1}{\sqrt{2}} \left( | \mathbf{u}_i \rangle + | \mathbf{v}_i \rangle \right) \quad (5.1)$$





Figure 1.11. Silver coins from the Skolunda collection, Haidburg, representing a god and a snake, with the  $\Sigma\text{P}\Sigma\text{H}\Sigma\text{C}$  spell.

Photographs by Dr. Michel, reproduced with his permission.

Two obsidian gems in the Vatican Library (previously in the Boggia collection), representing *Kronos* and a bear with a snake, have the following inscriptions:

2.  $\alpha\beta\eta\epsilon\zeta\alpha\ \sigma\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\ \sigma\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\ \sigma\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\ \beta\eta\eta\zeta\alpha\mu\mu\iota$  and

3.  $[\text{A}\beta\eta\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\zeta\ \alpha\beta\eta\epsilon\zeta\ ]\ \beta\eta\eta\zeta\alpha\ \sigma\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\ \sigma\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\ \sigma\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\ \chi\epsilon\tau\alpha\mu\iota$ .

4. A green jasper in a private collection, representing the bear and the leontocephalic snake, has the same *logos*,  $\sigma\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\ \sigma\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\ \chi\epsilon\tau\alpha\mu\iota\ \alpha\beta\eta\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\zeta\ \beta\eta\eta\zeta$ .

5. The same *onomatopoeia* is on an obsidian in the Skolunda collection (figure 1.11), and the inscription  $\rho\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\zeta\alpha\ \sigma\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\ \sigma\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\ \sigma\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\ \chi\epsilon\tau\alpha\mu\iota\ \alpha\beta\eta\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\zeta$ .

6. The same *onomatopoeia* is on the already quoted obsidian in the Kelsey Museum (see figure 1.6). On the other side of the gem sits *Kronos* (similar to *Sarapis*) on his throne, which is placed on the back of a crocodile. An inscription is cut on the bezel:  $\chi\epsilon\tau\alpha\mu\iota\ \alpha\beta\eta\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\zeta\ \alpha\beta\eta\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\zeta\ \sigma\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\ \sigma\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$ .

7. An obsidian in the Cabinet des Médailles (figure 1.12) bears the same *onomatopoeia* and the inscription:  $\text{K}\alpha\mu\epsilon\alpha\ \text{[PAXEPII [BAP]]}\cdot\text{XAM}\epsilon\alpha\ \Sigma\text{I}\epsilon\text{I}\cdot\text{[HBK}\ \Sigma\text{I}\Sigma\text{I}\rho\theta\ \Sigma\text{I}\Sigma\text{I}\theta\ \text{[ABP]}\Lambda\text{I}\Sigma\text{A}\epsilon\ \Sigma\text{I}\Sigma\text{I}\Phi\epsilon\text{P}\alpha\text{C}\text{OY}\ \text{N}\chi\text{N}\theta\text{I}\cdot\text{[}$

8. On a green-yellow jasper in the Cabinet des Médailles (see figure 1.8), representing *Kronos* pointing his index finger to his mouth (like *Harpokrates*), one reads:  $\sigma\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\ \sigma\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\ \chi\epsilon\tau\alpha\mu\iota\ \chi\epsilon\tau\alpha\mu\iota\ \alpha\beta\eta\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\zeta$ .

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zinger, *Catalogue des Monnaies de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, p. 100, n. 10, where all the inscriptions of the *Skolunda* Museum (fig. 1.11) are given. *Kronos* (Boggia), 1860, 476, n. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Zinger, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> Zinger, *op. cit.*, p. 100, n. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Michel, *Annuaire de la Société des Études Numismatiques*, 1901, p. 100.

<sup>5</sup> Zinger, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

<sup>6</sup> Michel, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

<sup>7</sup> Michel, *op. cit.*, p. 100.



Figure 1.12A. Chondriomys ruber, dis-Mesozoic, Cret. representing a pig and a duck, with the skeletal organization of the pharyngeal apparatus.

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9. A serpentine in the British Museum<sup>22</sup> shows Kronos holding *harpe* and thunderbolt (7), standing on a lion, bearing this inscription:  $\delta\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon$ . On the reverse side there is Hekate standing on a corpse, accompanied by an inscription that speaks of the stomach, the father, and the good.

10. An amphiglyp showing an elephant (Figure 4.15) bears this inscription:  $\alpha\sigma\iota\sigma\alpha\rho\alpha\ \sigma\iota\sigma\alpha\theta\epsilon\rho\mu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\ \chi\alpha\iota\tau\alpha\varsigma\ \alpha\iota\theta\epsilon\rho\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \sigma\chi\lambda\alpha\beta\alpha\rho\alpha\ \beta\alpha\rho\ \alpha\chi\alpha\iota\mu\epsilon\sigma\ \sigma\iota\gamma\eta\rho$ .<sup>10</sup>

11. In an erotic charm inscribed on papyrus<sup>11</sup> one can read: σισιερω σισιερων, Αισιερω Αισιερω Αβερωζ, Φουνασθηλ, Οχλοβασιαρ-χιου βερυχιου, and it is explained that this *logos* could be abbreviated to Βαζαρν χηβγ.

$$\begin{aligned} \lambda_1 |_{t_2^+} - \lambda_1 |_{t_2^-} &= (1 - \gamma_1) \lambda_1 |_{t_2^-} = \lambda_1 |_{t_2^-} (1 - \gamma_1) = \gamma_1 \lambda_1 |_{t_2^-} = \gamma_1 \lambda_1 |_{t_2^+} \\ \lambda_1(t_2) &= \lambda_1 |_{t_2^+} = \lambda_1 |_{t_2^-} \end{aligned}$$

TABLE 1.  $\Delta G_{\text{cal}}^{\circ}$  (kJ mol<sup>-1</sup>) for  $\text{CH}_4$  decomposition reactions by Dargatzoulis and Maitland-Becher symmetries of the  $\text{C}_{2v}$  group (in parentheses)



Figure 1.12B Reverse side.



Figure 1.13 Drawing from Montfaucon, representing a scorpion and the SRSB Spell, reproduced with permission from *Journal of American Studies*, 32 (1998), 113, 114, 115, plate 55-5.

Now we will attempt to explain the meaning of the spell inscribed on the Bologna gem and present comparisons with similar magical texts. The first words are Egyptian:

Σειρα (Sira) signifies "son of the ram." Ram, Σπυ, was the form of the sun during the sunset. Σπυουδισου σπυ were indeed the forms of the sun during the day, lotus, lion, ram. Three gods corresponded







Figure 1.14 Obverse of the *Cabnet des Medailles*, Paris, representing an Egyptian (or Near-Eastern) Krenn photograph by the author.

Reprinted with the permission of the *Cabnet des Medailles*.

accompanied by magical words and symbols.<sup>10</sup> An obsidian axe was also used as a medium for a Mithraic magical instrument, on both sides of which Mithra and Kronos are represented in the center of 28 *characteres* (Figure 1.15).<sup>11</sup>

## THE MONKEY ON THE BACK OF A LION

We now focus on a few gems that represent Kronos, bear the *logos stator*, and show on the reverse side a cynocephalic monkey (or ape) riding on the back of a lion. These specimens are carved most often on yellow and green jasper:

1. One is in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg;<sup>12</sup>
2. a second is kept in the Cabinet des Médailles<sup>13</sup> (see Figure 1.8);
3. a third is in the J. Paul Getty Museum;
4. another is kept in the Sköndin collection<sup>14</sup> (see Figure 1.7);
5. another is a chert with veins of chalcedony, published by Bonnet;<sup>15</sup>
6. only one is represented on a hematite gem, which is kept in the Museum of Cairo, and represents the monkey on the back of the lion and, on the obverse side, bears the inscription:  $\Lambda\alpha\theta\ \text{M}\theta\ \text{I}\Lambda\epsilon\theta$ .<sup>16</sup>

This astonishing iconography has been brilliantly explained by Simone Michel.<sup>17</sup> She noticed that the monkey is the sign of the Egyptian *dudef-aninos*, which corresponds to Capricorn, the “home” of Saturnus. The *dudef-aninos* is a series of animal symbols that indicate the forms of the sun during its daily journey.<sup>18</sup> According to another theory,<sup>19</sup> it indicates

<sup>10</sup> Deane, *Diechlangen*, 421. Michel, *Les chélanges*, 222. K. Vriens, “*Dieby der Wesen der Schlangen*,” in *Dieby der Wesen der Schlangen*, ed. K. Vriens, 222. Michel, *Les chélanges*, 222. K. Vriens, “*Dieby der Wesen der Schlangen*,” in *Dieby der Wesen der Schlangen*, ed. K. Vriens, 222. Michel, *Les chélanges*, 222. K. Vriens, “*Dieby der Wesen der Schlangen*,” in *Dieby der Wesen der Schlangen*, ed. K. Vriens, 222.

<sup>11</sup> A. Michel, *Dieby der Wesen der Schlangen*, 222. Michel, *Les chélanges*, 222. K. Vriens, “*Dieby der Wesen der Schlangen*,” in *Dieby der Wesen der Schlangen*, ed. K. Vriens, 222.

<sup>12</sup> A. Michel, *Dieby der Wesen der Schlangen*, 222. Michel, *Les chélanges*, 222. K. Vriens, “*Dieby der Wesen der Schlangen*,” in *Dieby der Wesen der Schlangen*, ed. K. Vriens, 222.

<sup>13</sup> Deane, *Diechlangen*, 421.

<sup>14</sup> Michel, *Les chélanges*, 222. Michel, *Les chélanges*, 222. K. Vriens, “*Dieby der Wesen der Schlangen*,” in *Dieby der Wesen der Schlangen*, ed. K. Vriens, 222.

<sup>15</sup> Michel, *Les chélanges*, 222. Michel, *Les chélanges*, 222. K. Vriens, “*Dieby der Wesen der Schlangen*,” in *Dieby der Wesen der Schlangen*, ed. K. Vriens, 222.

<sup>16</sup> Bonnet, *AM*, 1902, 1, 24.

<sup>17</sup> Michel, *Les chélanges*, 222. Michel, *Les chélanges*, 222. K. Vriens, “*Dieby der Wesen der Schlangen*,” in *Dieby der Wesen der Schlangen*, ed. K. Vriens, 222.

<sup>18</sup> A. Michel, *Dieby der Wesen der Schlangen*, 222. Michel, *Les chélanges*, 222. K. Vriens, “*Dieby der Wesen der Schlangen*,” in *Dieby der Wesen der Schlangen*, ed. K. Vriens, 222. Michel, *Les chélanges*, 222. K. Vriens, “*Dieby der Wesen der Schlangen*,” in *Dieby der Wesen der Schlangen*, ed. K. Vriens, 222.

<sup>19</sup> Michel, *Les chélanges*, 222.

<sup>20</sup> J. Boll, *Dieby der Wesen der Schlangen*, 222. Michel, *Les chélanges*, 222. K. Vriens, “*Dieby der Wesen der Schlangen*,” in *Dieby der Wesen der Schlangen*, ed. K. Vriens, 222.



Figure 1.15A. Oligocene carved axe representing Mithra and Kronos in the collection of Federico Zen.

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Figure 1.155 Reverse side



Figure 1.66. The Tabula Epononica, representing the Egyptian zodiac signs.

Reprinted from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 109 (1969), p. 13.

a selection of the 28 stars of the moon in the constellations. The forms of these signs are known thanks to a poetic version written by John Camateros (12th century) of the treatise of Teukros the Babylonian, which was also described by Antiochos and Rhetorios.<sup>10</sup> The 12 animals of Teukros correspond to those on the Tabula Blanchini and on the Tabula depicted by Daresse.<sup>11</sup> (Figure 1.66). Many of them are engraved on several gems all around Harpokrates or the Phoenix.<sup>12</sup> These signs were:

<sup>10</sup> See E. Brehaut, *Teukros et ses contemporains* (Paris, 1890), p. 105; W. Gungl, *Neue astrologische Texte des Heron* (Leipzig, 1901), p. 10; E. Brehaut, *Les astrologues de l'école de Babilonne* (Paris, 1906), p. 11. A complete and accurate transcription of the text is given in the appendix of the book by S. M. Stern, *The magical papyri of Greco-Egypt* (London, Academic Press, 1954), p. 106-7.

Barn: cat	Crab: scorpion	Balancer: goat	Capricorn: baboon
bull: dog	Lion: donkey	Scorpion: bull	Aquarius: ibis
Twins: snake	Virgo: lion	Bow: eagle: eagle	Pisces: crocodile

It is possible that the lion is a manifestation of the sun. On the back of this lion stood the monkey, a symbol of Capricorn. Kronos was depicted in his astrological home, Capricorn, which corresponded to the winter solstice. The period represented by this sign is one of long nights and cold temperatures, during which the sun is considered an aged god.

So far we have reported the theory of Simone Michel. Now we take another step forward. Cassius Dio, when describing the vices of the emperor Heliogabalus (who was also allegedly called Sardanapalus), mentions a strange ritual:

I will not describe the barbaric customs which Sardanapalus, together with his mother and grandmother, devoted to Ulagabais, or the secret sacrifices that he offered to him, slaughtering boys and using charms, or fastidiously shutting up those in the god's temple (a lion, a monkey, and a snake), and throwing in among them human genitals, and practising other unholy rites, while he invariably wore unutterable gaudiness.

Cassius Dio, as well as the *Historia Augusta*, underlines the sexual extravagances of Heliogabalus, who, among his numerous oddities, behaved like an emasculated priest<sup>12</sup> and planned to cut off his genitals altogether.<sup>13</sup>

The gems depicting an emasculated Kronos and a monkey on the back of a lion may have been inspired by the same doctrines that inspired the ritual of the emperor. This latter was born in Emesa, where Helios was worshipped. Moreover he could read the most secret Egyptian holy books; in fact Septimius Severus, in 199 AD, "took away from practically all the sanctuaries every book that he could find containing any secret lore."<sup>14</sup>

The doctrines of the great temple of Emesa could hardly contradict those of other religious centers or perhaps those of magical papyri. It is indeed possible that the sexual behavior of Heliogabalus suggests that he was aware of the theology of Kronos, the castrated or hermaphrodite god, and to his animal avatars.

The belief that Kronos was emasculated was not shared by every province of the Roman Empire; it was typical of magical documents, which have no sure geographical roots. The emasculated gods were typical of

<sup>12</sup> Cassius Dio LXIX.11 = III, p. 464 *Emperors, from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius*, Cassius Dio, DC, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press, 1927, on the basis of the version by Herbert Baldwin Foster.

<sup>13</sup> *Antiquities of the Jews*, *Deiudea*, *Herodotus*.

<sup>14</sup> Cassius Dio LXXX.11.

<sup>15</sup> Cassius Dio LXXX.13.

Anatolia and Northern Syria. Kronos with the crocodile was typical of Egypt, whereas Kronos with the boar was not Egyptian, but rather a Near-Eastern feature of his cult. In any case, these forms of mythology and the cults associated with it were not the product of the western, Latin regions of the empire.

### THE PURPOSE OF THE KRONOS GEMS

The gems of Kronos were, or were also, love amulets. The specimen in Bologna was placed at the center of Aphrodite's crown and was supposed to be the most powerful love charm, for it could make a man change his sexual behavior. Also the recipe in *PGM IV* has been mentioned, in which a phylactery had to be used to threaten Kronos; it was a rhin of a castrated black boar, engraved with the image of Zeus holding a sickle. Therefore a castrated black boar is an image associated with Kronos, and amulets created from black stones with Kronos's image could favor only an asexual life. A fragment from the philosopher Damascius indicates that the Chaldeans were able to make "chastity rings."<sup>1</sup> We can only wonder whether such rings had something to do with the mythology of Kronos.

A surprising fact is that a few transparent stones are engraved with the image of a male boar copulating with a wild sow.<sup>2</sup> (Figure 1.17). Apparently these gems represent the opposite of the Kronos black gems: intense heterosexual activity, fecundity, luminous gems, versus asexual behavior, disregard for female beings, sterility, black gems. In fact, boars and pigs are very fecund animals. The legend of Aeneas and the 30 piglets is a very famous example of this.

In addition to the series engraved on black, green/yellow, and transparent stones, there is another series, most often engraved on red or yellow jasper, which represents a boar holding a bull's head or something else in its mouth. The details of these gems are as follows:

1. The yellow jasper in the Numismatic Museum in Athens<sup>3</sup> shows the boar with an unidentified object in its mouth and the inscription to τῆς ὄρας; ΜΟΥΣΕΩ. The last word is constructed from *μου*: "him."

<sup>1</sup> Damascius, *De virtutibus et vitiis*, ed. Cornelia Zinner, n. 111, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> E. Gertrich, *Verbleibene Gemmen und Engravingen* (Nagelsdorf: Verlag der Antiquarischen Sammlungen, 1900), p. 117; also Gertrich, *Verbleibene Gemmen*, fig. 117; E. Beaudouin, A. Krug, W. Gercke, and F. Schoder, *Die Gemmen des Altertums* (Paris: Librairie de la Sorbonne, 1972), nos. 2896-2899; also Gertrich, *Verbleibene Gemmen*, p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> E. Gertrich, *Verbleibene Gemmen des Altertums* (Paris: Librairie de la Sorbonne, 1900), p. 117.





Figure 1.17B

boar; on the obverse side the inscription reads: *ΠΡΟΒΙΩΝ*, on the reverse side: *ΜΟΥΣΕΥΜ*.

5. A specimen in the British Museum<sup>1</sup> shows *Fros*, the boar, holding a goat's head and has the inscription: *ΠΡΟΒΙΩΝ ΜΟΥΣΕΥΜ*.

6. On a red jasper in the Glyptothek in Munich,<sup>2</sup> the boar holds a cock; the inscription is: *ΠΡ*.

7. A brown jasper in the Hadrien Rambach collection (Figure 1.20) in London, shows the bull's head in the mouth of the animal, and the inscription: *ΜΟΝΙ ΣΑΕ ΜΟΥΣΕΥΜ*.

<sup>1</sup> *British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, London: British Museum, 1923, vol. 1, 142, no. 141, no. 142, no. 143, no. 144, no. 145, no. 146, no. 147, no. 148, no. 149, no. 150, no. 151, no. 152, no. 153, no. 154, no. 155, no. 156, no. 157, no. 158, no. 159, no. 160, no. 161, no. 162, no. 163, no. 164, no. 165, no. 166, no. 167, no. 168, no. 169, no. 170, no. 171, no. 172, no. 173, no. 174, no. 175, no. 176, no. 177, no. 178, no. 179, no. 180, no. 181, no. 182, no. 183, no. 184, no. 185, no. 186, no. 187, no. 188, no. 189, no. 190, no. 191, no. 192, no. 193, no. 194, no. 195, no. 196, no. 197, no. 198, no. 199, no. 200, no. 201, no. 202, no. 203, no. 204, no. 205, no. 206, no. 207, no. 208, no. 209, no. 210, no. 211, no. 212, no. 213, no. 214, no. 215, no. 216, no. 217, no. 218, no. 219, no. 220, no. 221, no. 222, no. 223, no. 224, no. 225, no. 226, no. 227, no. 228, no. 229, no. 230, no. 231, no. 232, no. 233, no. 234, no. 235, no. 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<sup>2</sup> *AG. 12. 1. 1. Münch. 12. 1. 1.*



Figure 118A. Yellow jasper, in the collection of the Musée de l'Homme, Paris, representing a bear holding a bull's head up to its mouth, phylactery for the mother.

Represented with the permission of the Institut des Musées de France.

X. A green jasper, in the Skoluda collection,<sup>1</sup> in Hamburg, shows only a bear or pig swallowing a human figure. The inscription—*tr m̃; qd, m̃;—* signifies "the phylactery for love."

Furthermore, the image of Iros suggests a use of those amulets for love magic. If this is correct, the names of "Pouqoum," "Rulana," and of "Hapfuzze," "Privara,"<sup>2</sup> could be those of desired women, the objects of the charm.

The gem representing the emasculated Kronos was placed in the center of Aphrodite's *dodeim* and was supposed to be the most powerful love charm; the bear was depicted on gems of the same kind. The copulating bears were obviously linked to sex and reproduction, whereas the gems with this animal holding the head of another animal in its mouth were probably also connected with sexual and love affairs.

<sup>1</sup> Michel, *Die magischen Schmucke der Skoluda*, p. 13, fig. 10, 1907.

<sup>2</sup> For example: H. 1962, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.



Figure 1.18B. Reverse side.



Figure 1.19A. The obverse side of the coin, representing a head facing left (Spindler's photograph by the author). Reprinted with the permission of the National Archaeological Museum.





Figure 1.19B Reverse side



Figure 1.20 Brown paper in the Haddad collection, London, representing a bear holding a bull's head in its mouth

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## Chapter 2

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### NEW READING OF THE OSIRIS MYTH IN NEAR-EASTERN MAGIC





### THE "LITTLE MILL" AND KRONOS'S ORACLES

An obsidian gem, previously bought in Aleppo, Syria, by Henry Seyrig and now at the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, shows a very peculiar iconography (Figure 2.1). The mummified Osiris is represented on a bed, at whose feet the donkey-headed Seth is standing. There is no doubt that he is Seth, who cut Osiris into pieces, and to whom magicians often resorted so as to threaten Osiris and force him to do things in the realm of the dead.<sup>1</sup> This disquieting image is accompanied by the inscription: ⲙⲓⲁⲣⲉ "Osire: 'Hail, Osiris!'" On the reverse side there are *chatakteres* and two magical words: ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲏⲣ and ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛⲧⲏⲣ. The bezel is also inscribed, but the stone is broken in many areas of the border and therefore it is impossible to read clearly.

To understand this iconography it is beneficial to adduce the secret doctrines of Kronos, rather than the Egyptian myth of Osiris. In fact we know that Osiris and Kronos were often linked during the Imperial Age:

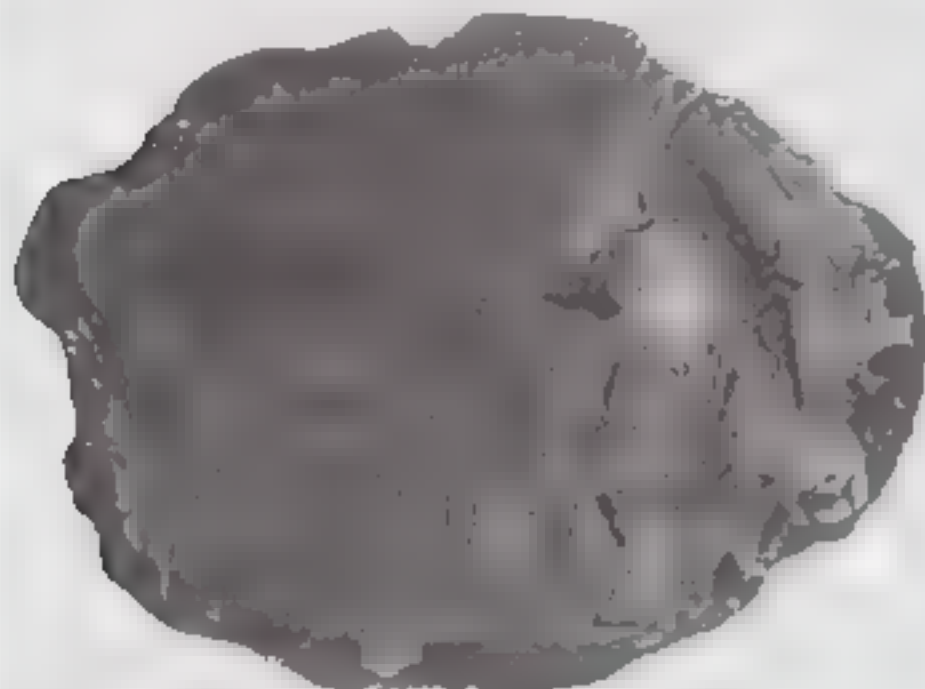


Figure 2.13A: Chandeliers in the 19th-century Studio City, Texas, representing Seth and Olivia, identical with Kennedy's photographs of the authors.

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U. L. & G. L. P. C. M. VII = 9.40  $\times 10^{-11}$  VII = 14.1, 13 = 17.90, XIV = 4.4,  $\times 10^{-11}$ ,  
XV = 5.2, XI = 1.60, 10 = 1.7, 14 = 1.



same, master, god, and tell me by necessity concerning the NN matter. But I am the one who revolved against you, and I am not a person who is not a person. There are to be said while the value being around.

And the formulae of the angels have been revealed to you in your own language, in order that you may say these things when he appears threateningly, in order that he might be subdued and speak about the things you ask.

The physicians in great demand for four or five the top of a young pig-cave Zeng holding fast the sick, and this name "cave-pig-cave" (Or let it be the rib of a pig, says, contained bone).

[illegible]

Among the magical words we note "Kériden" -- Kronos's secret name -- which is also known thanks to other sources.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the root Koderienus is related to *kodere*, which is one of the powers of a famous magical love for Persephone. In this *lógos* Persephone is identified with Ereshchigal (queen of the realm of the dead, wife of Nergal in Mesopotamian mythology) and other goddesses of the night and the netherworld.

The occurrence of Ketiden and Kodénous in the same spell leads us back to Krauu, having Absenwede for a while. The second word on the gem, "Sampsychithi," is formed from the Greek name for marjoram, *σάμψυχον*; *sampsynchos*, which is, in fact, an Egyptian word: "herb of Sanchus" (see *Stk.*). It corresponds to *Marjona isoteris*.

A passage of PGM XIII, copied from the *Eighty-book of Moses*, quotes the series of seven incenses of the seven planetary gods:

Kronos' own tongue is silver, because it is long, and it repeats the one of Zeus (anaphalathos, Anis is longos, Helios is mekos, the one of Aphrodite is fuchos-silvered, Hermes' is cysis and Schme's is marsh.

It is said that these pieces of information came from Manetho's book and that the *Moses Key* (i.e., a part of the *Fourth book of Moses*) gave further

$\mathcal{P}_1(M, N) = \{ (P, Q) \in \mathcal{P}_1(M, N) : P \leq Q \}$ .  $\mathcal{P}_1(M, N) = \{ (P, Q) \in \mathcal{P}_1(M, N) : P \leq Q \}$ .  
 $\mathcal{P}_1(M, N) = \{ (P, Q) \in \mathcal{P}_1(M, N) : P \leq Q \}$ .  $\mathcal{P}_1(M, N) = \{ (P, Q) \in \mathcal{P}_1(M, N) : P \leq Q \}$ .

<sup>1</sup> In order to avoid confusion, we use the label *local* to refer to the *local* hardware resources used in a particular local context, and *global* to refer to the *global* resources used in a global context.

W. V. Quine (1908–2000) was a philosopher, linguist, and cognitive scientist. He is best known for his work in the philosophy of language and the philosophy of science. Quine's work has been influential in the development of the philosophy of language and the philosophy of science. He is also known for his work in the philosophy of mind and the philosophy of action. Quine's work has been influential in the development of the philosophy of language and the philosophy of science. He is also known for his work in the philosophy of mind and the philosophy of action. Quine's work has been influential in the development of the philosophy of language and the philosophy of science. He is also known for his work in the philosophy of mind and the philosophy of action.

[illegible]

However, the order in which the two monomers are added to the polymerase is not known. It is possible that the separation was not very accurate, for the 2 monomers had to pass the same substrate, ex. 1, together. In this case, a 50:50 ratio is needed in the test tube.





that he should get Kronos drunk by drinking honey, and therefore Kronos was the first of the living beings to know sleep. In this way Zeus was able to emasculate him.

Other fragments speak of Kronos's revelations. One of those extracts asserts that Nyx was feeding Kronos,<sup>1</sup> and giving advice to Zeus during his work of creation.<sup>2</sup> As claimed by another fragment,<sup>3</sup> Zeus, when he was creating the world, went to consult the oracle of Nyx and also asked for Kronos's help. Another fragment observes that Zeus liberated his father from fetters and was seeking his benevolence; furthermore he got Nyx's oracles, and Kronos gave him helpful directions when he was creating.<sup>4</sup>

Proclus the Neoplatonist describes those fragments (that we have just referred to) in his commentaries on Plato's *Republic*, *Kratylos*, and *Timaeus*. He gives the following interpretation of those Orphic myths:<sup>5</sup> Zeus was imitating Kronos, and during his sleep he was lifted to the poetic world, that is, to the world of Ideas. He also gained inspiration from the revelations of Kronos when he was accomplishing the creation. In the opinion of Proclus, Kronos transmitted the principles of intelligible truth, that is, of the Platonic Ideas. According to a Hermetic treatise, "the sight of Cronos does not damage, but fills one with all immortality, and therefore those who can reach a part of this sight, fall asleep, relinquish their body, and often reach the most beautiful vision, as it happened to Ouranos and Kronos, our ancestors."

According to Wlaszink,<sup>6</sup> "Kronos unveiled what he saw in his dream by speaking in his sleep. A passage of Plutarch's *de facie in orbis lunae*"<sup>7</sup> suggests such an explanation. This author says that Zeus made Kronos fall asleep; the latter was in a rocky cave, on an island, and birds fed him with ambrosia; gods and humans took care of him, and he gave many spectacular answers; indeed his oracles were revelations of his dreams. More precisely," Plutarch maintains that Kronos knew Zeus's thoughts, and, when dreaming, he communicated these thoughts to demons who were

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus, 162.

<sup>2</sup> Seneca, 217.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus, 217.

<sup>4</sup> Herodotus, 160.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Commentaries of Proclus on the Republic, Kratylos, and Timaeus*.

<sup>6</sup> Proclus, in *Tim.* 135, 280, 100, 100, 100.

<sup>7</sup> *de facie in orbis lunae*, 100.

<sup>8</sup> Seneca, 217.

<sup>9</sup> Plutarchus, *De facie in orbis lunae* 100. Cf. Plutarchus, *De facie in orbis lunae* 100, where Zeus is described as "prophetic" and "inspired" by the "demon" of Kronos, who is described as "prophetic" and "inspired" by the "demon" of Zeus. Cf. Plutarchus, *De facie in orbis lunae* 100, where Zeus is described as "prophetic" and "inspired" by the "demon" of Kronos, who is described as "prophetic" and "inspired" by the "demon" of Zeus.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. H. Cherniss, *Plutarch's Moralia*, *Alfred E. Haines, Jr., ed.*, *Loeb Classical Library*, 1905, Vol. 10, *Plutarch's Moralia*, 100.

surrounding him. Thus the humans could know Zeus's thoughts through the demons.

Tertullian<sup>1</sup> alludes to the Kronos (or Saturnus) dream and claims that Kronos was the first to dream in this world; in addition, Tertullian asks Aristotle to forgive him for laughing at this myth. It is evident that Aristotle dealt with this topic in one of his lost dialogues, maybe in the *Protreptics*,<sup>2</sup> or in the *De animalium habitibus*,<sup>3</sup> which is perhaps to be identified with the *Protreptics*.<sup>4</sup>

### ORACULAR OSIRIS AND THREATENING SETH

The obsidian gem's iconography could be interpreted as a portrayal of Seth forcing the sleeping Osiris to reveal his oracles. Seth was indeed a threat to Osiris, who was forced to reveal what he was seeing in his dreams. The shift from Kronos to Osiris is proven by the means that were used to force the oracular god to act, according to the "little noll." This recipe of the magical papyrus does indeed describe the constricting spells used to overcome Kronos. It is said that Zeus used violence against Kronos and that Helios put Kronos in chains. The performer of the ritual should say that it was he who revolted against Kronos, therefore he identified himself with Zeus.

Admittedly, the gems could indeed be used in rituals that were supposed to provide the practitioner with prophetic dreams, in which a god,<sup>5</sup> and especially Sarapis,<sup>6</sup> appeared. Sarapis was the Hellenistic form of Osiris and was supposed to give oracles and send dream visions. Moreover, Bes, that is, a sort of Osiris as a child, was forced to appear in the night to deliver oracles or do favors.<sup>7</sup>

The gem in the Cabinet des Médailles represents Osiris, but its features recall Kronos. Obsidian was a stone from which amulets of Kronos were carved, and in the first chapter many of these obsidian gems have been taken

<sup>1</sup> Tertullian, 161.

<sup>2</sup> H. W. Long, "The Lost Dialogues of Aristotle," *Classical Philology* 19 (1924): 137–49. The fragments of the *Protreptics* are collected in Long, *The Lost Dialogues of Aristotle*, 137–49. Long also collected fragments of the *De animalium habitibus* in Long, *The Lost Dialogues of Aristotle*, 150–51. Long also collected fragments of the *Protreptics* in Long, *The Lost Dialogues of Aristotle*, 152–53.

<sup>3</sup> Long, *The Lost Dialogues of Aristotle*, 152–53.

<sup>4</sup> Long, *The Lost Dialogues of Aristotle*, 152–53. Long also collected fragments of the *Protreptics* in Long, *The Lost Dialogues of Aristotle*, 152–53.

<sup>5</sup> Long, *The Lost Dialogues of Aristotle*, 152–53.

<sup>6</sup> Long, 152–53.

<sup>7</sup> Long, 152–53.

<sup>8</sup> C. A. Macdonald, "The appearance of the god in the dream: A study of the 'little noll' in the *Protreptics*," *Classical Philology* 21 (1926): 200–203.

into account. We have also spoken of the iconography of the Alexandrian Kronos, who was the Greek totem of the Egyptian god Souchos, the crocodile-god of the Fayum. Kronos was holding a little crocodile and a sickle. The adjective *symphonichus*, as we have said, comes from the name "herb of Souchos." Additionally, the crocodile could be seen as a symbol of eternity.<sup>11</sup> According to Pseudo-Plutarch's *De fluxu*, "Kronos transformed himself into a crocodile to escape from Zeus."

The multiformity of Kronos was a feature that was often highlighted by theologians during Imperial times. Cosmorus, the theologian, writes: "the nature of the cosmos—which was precisely called Zeus—became strong and stopped the transformations of he who moved too much." According to the Varian Mythographer, "Saturnus seemed took the forms of a snake, a lion, and a bear, depending on the seasons. In the first chapter we also saw the identification of Kronos with Proteus, the sea god who assumed different shapes to avoid answering questions. He had to be forced to stop his metamorphoses and make to answer.

Christopher Ceram<sup>1</sup> has recently shown that Kronos and the Lirans were invoked in magical performances because they were the most ancient living beings in the world—the first ancestors. They were supposed to live in the realm of the dead in a remote land. These features may complete the identification of Kronos with Osiris. One will note that in magical texts of the Imperial Age, Hades is scarcely mentioned. On the gods he is totally absent. In the *defixiones* from Egypt or those that are heavily influenced by Egyptian ideas, Hades is usually replaced by Osiris as the god of the dead.

## OFFERING MOSS, A CAT'S HEART, AND HORSE MANURE

The performer of the "little mill" had to utter known many odd things, according to the magical powers. The uttering of horse manure seems

9. J. A. Roberts, "The  $\beta$ -invariant of a group action," *Adv. Math.* **46**(2) (1984), 149-160.

For  $\mathcal{U}(\mathbf{m}, \mathbf{n})$ , we consider the following property: the  $\mathbf{m}$  and  $\mathbf{n}$  are such that the matrix of  $\mathcal{U}(\mathbf{m}, \mathbf{n})$  is

\* Manuscript accepted for publication 15 October 1998

[illegible]



fact narrates how Proteus transformed himself into water, fire, a lion, a snake, a panther, a large bear, and a tree. Menelaus attracted Proteus, the Old Man of the Sea, with sealskin. In a similar way the performer of the "little mill" attracted Kronos by means of milled salt, for this god was the lord of seawater.

It is worth mentioning another recipe, which is also reported in the great magical papyrus at Paris.<sup>10</sup> It is that of Nephotes to Psammethichos, king of Egypt. Here the practitioner, wrapped like a corpse, invokes Typhon (i.e., Seth) until a divine sea falcon appears. Thanks to other prayers, the practitioner acquires a divine nature and can begin a request for bowl divination and necromancy and address whatever god or dead man he wants. At the end he dismisses the requested god by pronouncing the most terrible name of Typhon.

Here we find again the magician who is resorting to using Seth to force Osiris, or another god or a dead man, to deliver an oracle or to do something. One should note that all the gods are supposed to obey Seth. The famous curse tablets from Porta San Sebastiano, known as Sethian lamellae, bear texts in which Seth is appealed to and also depicted as a horse-headed god, used to force Osiris, also called Fulanis ("eternity"), to subdue a ghost and make him obey the practitioner.<sup>11</sup>

## HIDDEN AND BLACK

Osiris was also the lord of water, according to Greek theology, and especially Ptolemy's *De Iside et Osiride*, chapters 34, 39. This influence over water also appears in Egyptian theology, which supposed that the flooding of the Nile was caused by the sweating mummy of Osiris.<sup>12</sup> The Egyptian god produced fresh water, whereas saltwater was the domain of Seth, the god of sterility.<sup>13</sup> In direct opposition to Seth, Osiris brought fertility. Perhaps this issue of fertility is not an insurmountable difference between the Greek Kronos and the Egyptian Osiris, which could prevent theologians from identifying them. Both were forcefully removed from their realms and confined to the realm of the dead. Both were hidden. Both were living

<sup>10</sup> PGM IV, 114-120, reprint: N. S. Strudwick.

<sup>11</sup> See K. Mastromarco, "Le stregonie di Fulanis e di Sebastiano", *MAZNA* 1 (1968), 41-42.

<sup>12</sup> The Shabaka's stela mentions that the "sweat" of Osiris is "the Nile" (P. 100, 101). See also P. 100, 101. For the identification of the "sweat" of Osiris with the Nile, see J. K. Cooper, *The Nile in Egypt*, 1967, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

<sup>13</sup> Ptolemy, *De Iside et Osiride*, 32.

as they slept. Both were threatened by a mighty god: one by Zeus and the other by Seth. Both were supposed to reveal the hidden truth they learned in their dreams. Gems that depicted them were always carved on black, often obsidian, stone.

In case all this proof is insufficient, the existence of a Roman statue might be more persuasive. The statue includes a famous family grouping that is kept in the Vatican museum, and depicts a father as Kronos and a son as Harpokrates, that is, as Osiris's son (figure 2.2).<sup>46</sup> It is possible that this monument is of funerary character and that the deceased, that is, he to whom the monument is dedicated, namely, Cornutus—is portrayed as Kronos-Saturnus.

Further evidence exists in the form of coins: Several coins of the Tetrarchic period,<sup>47</sup> issued in honor of deceased emperors (*consecratio* issues), show the host of the deceased emperors with their heads covered by the flap of the toga (figure 2.3). The toga was not the clothing of the Pontifex Maximus, for these emperors were deceased and there was already a new Pontifex Maximus. Rather, this was the clothing of Kronos-Saturnus. In Egypt an ancient custom allowed the deceased to be identified with Osiris, and probably Kronos was the god with whom deified men were similarly identified in the Hellenistic and Roman iconographical tradition. The coin of Valerianus in figure 2.4 proves that Kronos became a god of Aeternity, like Osiris and the deified emperors.

The gem in the Cabinet des Médailles was previously kept in the collection of Henri Seyrig, who bought it in Aleppo. Therefore, it is probable that the gem was cut in Syria and not in Egypt. Its iconography does not depend on true, sacerdotal Egyptian tradition, but on Hellenistic theology. Sophisticated Near Eastern speculation used Egyptian iconography to represent Kronos. Also many practitioners of the magical recipes were required to be clothed as Egyptian priests. In the same way Kronos was clothed and featured as Osiris. This Kronos was not, or not only, the Hesiodic god, but was first of all the result of a philosophical and theological refashioning of a Near Eastern god by Magi or Chaldeans.

<sup>46</sup> H. Mörke, *Die Statuen des römischen Kaiserhauses* (München-Köln, 1981), 234-34, no. 101, plate 14, f. 100; *MAA* XLII (supplement), 10.

<sup>47</sup> See, for example, *RIC* VI, 378, 48; Maximianus Herculius; *RIC* VI, 326, 127 (Cornelius Severus).



Figure 2.2. Fragmentary stone relief representing the deceased as Osiris and his son as Harpokrates, photograph by the author.

Reproduced with the permission: Sami Samir Al-Jarrah.



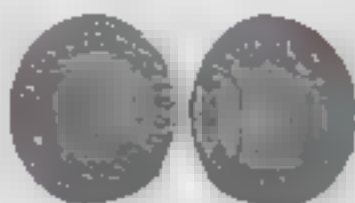


Figure 2.3. Bronze coin created in honor of the deceased and divorced Constantius Chlorus from Internet auction catalogue.

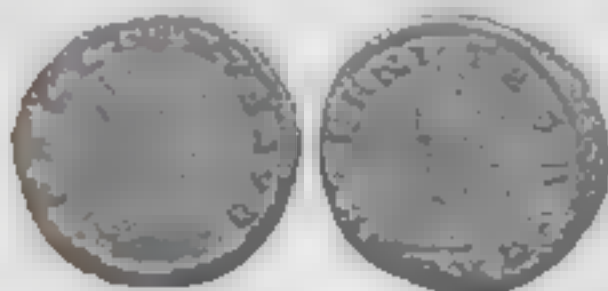


Figure 2.4. Autonomously cast Caligula representing known as an offspring of Actemnius from Internet auction catalogue.



## Chapter 3

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### HELIOS-SHIVA: PORPHYRY, ARDHANARISVARA, AND A MAGICAL GEM IN NAPLES





### THE PECULIAR HELIOS ON THE HELIOTROPE GEM

A heliotope gem in the National Archaeological Museum in Naples (Figure 3.1) depicts the god Helios with peculiar features and a series of inscribed magical names. My purpose in this chapter is to show that this god was conceived by a very sophisticated theologian of the 3rd century C.E. who was able to merge the Egyptian form of the sun, Harpocrates, with the Indian Brahmanic iconography of an androgynous Shiva. This god is accompanied by a series of symbols and by an animal-headed creator god, who looks to him during his creative activity. The description of the carved figures is as follows: A naked pantheistic god, who may be named Helios, is standing on a prostrate human corpse. He is viewed from the front, the form of his sex is not precisely recognizable; his arms are slightly opened on both sides. His head is surrounded by 12 large rays, between which the word *ΝΑΡΧΕΝΑΒΡΑΗ* can be read. A thin animal skin, its legs hanging down on its right side, covers his chest. With his left hand he is holding a herald staff or caduceus under which an oval object with two points can be seen. The latter could be the bag of Pan, as it is shown in another gem. The god's right hand is holding a strange long scepter, composed of a vegetal staff interrupted in the middle part by two little globes and ending with a branch (palm?) and a compound of globes. Perhaps this is a sort of rhysson. On the left side of the gem a small animal-headed god is standing and looking up toward Helios. His head could be that of a dog or a wolf. He is rhyphatic, holding a whip and a double axe. On the right side a winged thunderbolt and a snake can be seen.

The Greek inscriptions on this gem read as follows. On the reverse side: ΣΙΜΕΣΤΙΑΝΕ ΜΗΑΛΙΑ ΑΓΕΛΟΙ ΕΩ ΕΩ ΕΩ; on the lower part: ΑΚΙΡΟΚΟΝΤΑ. On the bezel: [ c. 6 ] ΘΑΠΑΒΑΝΑΒΑΝΑΒΗΤ ΜΟΝΥΠΤΙΜΕΛΟΗΛΑΟ [ c. 4-5 ] ΣΙΣΕΝ|ΡΑΙΩΑΡ|ΑΝ|ΗΕΛΠΣΕΝΟΘΗΑΚΡΑΜΠΑΝΑΜΑΡ|ΑΥΗΛΑΟ ΑΡΕΑ|.

[illegible]

1. Zerkow, D. *Ueber die Eigenschaften der Matrien, die durch Matrien-Mengen entstehen*. Wetzlar, 1874.



Figure 1.1A. Green, Jasper stone used on Nuplex, National Archaeological Museum (photo graph by the author).

Reprinted with the permission of the National Archaeological Museum.



Figure 3.115 Reverse side.



Figure 3.2 Drawing of a coin that represents, on the reverse, the creator god in front of an important god in the form of an eagle.

Reproduced from I. Mikreios and F. C. Smith, *Moneta Graeca* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1957), plate IV, 16.

One can recognize the following known words: Σεπτεζωφω (eternal sun),<sup>1</sup> Μιχαήλ (Michael), αγγελ' Αβδανθηρενιάβαν (Abdanathanallha), βρεχων (clauderang), ἀσπασθω (he whose thought is very high), ἱεροσεσενγανφαρανοξ (Luo Sesengandarpharanoxi), ἱεροφροδρε (hierophrodre), Ασπασθωροφρανοξ (Aspassthorofranox), violent), Αβριζαξ (Avriza), Ἀπρ' νοθίαξ (signifies "hierophrodre," and this is a characteristic of some Gnostic deities, such as Barbelo and Ialdabaoth).

## THE CREATOR GOD

Before beginning our research on the hermaphroditic nature of the god, we should report the results of our previous studies on the animal-headed whipping god. This minor god is the creator. In fact, the same whipping god is portrayed on another coin known only from early modern engravings (see Figure 3.2). It represents the anguipede cock and, on the opposite

<sup>1</sup> I. Mikreios and F. C. Smith, "Dionysos and the anguipede," *ZfN* 112 (1980): 248–54. The ending "eternal sun" is a translation of the word ζωφω.

<sup>2</sup> I. Mikreios and F. C. Smith, "Anguipede and the anguipede," *PCPS* 111, pt. 2 (1965): 177–180. See also I. Mikreios and F. C. Smith, "Anguipede and the anguipede," *ZfN* 112 (1980): 116–117, for the words anguipede and anguipede.

<sup>3</sup> I. Mikreios and F. C. Smith, "Anguipede," *ZfN* 112 (1980): 116–117.

<sup>4</sup> I. Mikreios and F. C. Smith, "Anguipede and the anguipede," *PCPS* 111, pt. 2 (1965): 177–180. See also I. Mikreios and F. C. Smith, "Anguipede and the anguipede," *ZfN* 112 (1980): 116–117.

<sup>5</sup> I. Mikreios and F. C. Smith, "Anguipede and the anguipede," *PCPS* 111, pt. 2 (1965): 177–180. See also I. Mikreios and F. C. Smith, "Anguipede and the anguipede," *ZfN* 112 (1980): 116–117. See also I. Mikreios and F. C. Smith, "Anguipede and the anguipede," *PCPS* 111, pt. 2 (1965): 177–180. See also I. Mikreios and F. C. Smith, "Anguipede and the anguipede," *ZfN* 112 (1980): 116–117.









is identified with Helios, Apollo, Dionysos and is recognized as the higher god, lord of the cosmos. Compound divinities with solar features are known from the age of the late Roman republic.<sup>1</sup> They were conceived to represent a lord of the cosmos, a god who was mightier than the other gods. Usually, compound divine features were given to the divinities of destiny, such as Tyche, or to the hypercosmic Sun, which is depicted in the *Hymn to King Helios* by Julian the Apostate. The theme of the snake occurs in many religious traditions of the Roman period and accompanies the birth of Harpokrates, as we have seen, and of Mithras. Furthermore, the thunderbolt is such a common symbol that one can obtain no precise information about the nature of the god from it.

The most important feature of this god is the hermaphroditism. The inscription says that he is a hermaphrodite (*anandrophos*) and his image shows an incomplete male sexual apparatus, the large flanks and short waist of a woman. His left breast is prominent. The most important and mighty divinities of late antiquity were thought to be hermaphrodites,<sup>2</sup> for they were complete in their perfect unity. In several theological systems two almighty gods were conceived: one young and one elder,<sup>3</sup> and they could be hermaphrodites or have no sex at all. This was the case of Kronos, who was thought to be an emasculated god, was prayed to as the hermaphrodite god, and names of male and female divinities were used to adore him. During the Imperial Age, the theme of divine hermaphroditism was developed in Gnostic and Christian theologies. Dionysos was said to be a hermaphrodite. The disguise of Herakles as a woman is typical of the Cynoptic myth, and was also present in Roman rituality.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., *Antike und Mittelalter*, ed. by H. Temporini and E. Schmidt, Berlin, 1974, no. 4913; *Die Antike*, ed. by H. Temporini and E. Schmidt, Berlin, 1972, 29, 1. Maass, "Die Antike und Mittelalter", *Antike und Mittelalter*, ed. by H. Temporini and E. Schmidt, Berlin, 1974, no. 4913.

<sup>2</sup> *Antike und Mittelalter*, ed. by H. Temporini and E. Schmidt, Berlin, 1974, no. 4913; *Die Antike*, ed. by H. Temporini and E. Schmidt, Berlin, 1972, 29, 1. Maass, "Die Antike und Mittelalter", *Antike und Mittelalter*, ed. by H. Temporini and E. Schmidt, Berlin, 1974, no. 4913.

<sup>3</sup> *Antike und Mittelalter*, ed. by H. Temporini and E. Schmidt, Berlin, 1974, no. 4913; *Die Antike*, ed. by H. Temporini and E. Schmidt, Berlin, 1972, 29, 1. Maass, "Die Antike und Mittelalter", *Antike und Mittelalter*, ed. by H. Temporini and E. Schmidt, Berlin, 1974, no. 4913.

<sup>4</sup> *Antike und Mittelalter*, ed. by H. Temporini and E. Schmidt, Berlin, 1974, no. 4913; *Die Antike*, ed. by H. Temporini and E. Schmidt, Berlin, 1972, 29, 1. Maass, "Die Antike und Mittelalter", *Antike und Mittelalter*, ed. by H. Temporini and E. Schmidt, Berlin, 1974, no. 4913.

<sup>5</sup> *Antike und Mittelalter*, ed. by H. Temporini and E. Schmidt, Berlin, 1974, no. 4913; *Die Antike*, ed. by H. Temporini and E. Schmidt, Berlin, 1972, 29, 1. Maass, "Die Antike und Mittelalter", *Antike und Mittelalter*, ed. by H. Temporini and E. Schmidt, Berlin, 1974, no. 4913.

<sup>6</sup> *Antike und Mittelalter*, ed. by H. Temporini and E. Schmidt, Berlin, 1974, no. 4913; *Die Antike*, ed. by H. Temporini and E. Schmidt, Berlin, 1972, 29, 1. Maass, "Die Antike und Mittelalter", *Antike und Mittelalter*, ed. by H. Temporini and E. Schmidt, Berlin, 1974, no. 4913.

<sup>7</sup> *Antike und Mittelalter*, ed. by H. Temporini and E. Schmidt, Berlin, 1974, no. 4913; *Die Antike*, ed. by H. Temporini and E. Schmidt, Berlin, 1972, 29, 1. Maass, "Die Antike und Mittelalter", *Antike und Mittelalter*, ed. by H. Temporini and E. Schmidt, Berlin, 1974, no. 4913.



Many Coptic works discuss the problem of the gender of the supreme gods, but now is not the time to deal with it. Suffice to say that this is an important feature of several theological streams of the Roman empire.

## CREATION AND THE CONTEMPLATION OF THE PERFECT GOD

Platon<sup>1</sup> said that love produces emissions of a generative substance (semen) thanks to the vision of Beauty, and he interpreted the name of Ouranos as "contemplation of the higher world" (*chorosia ta aneta*).<sup>2</sup> The emperor Julian<sup>3</sup> said that "for when the generative substance which is visible in our world desires to beget in the beautiful and to bring forth offspring, it is further necessary that it should be guided by the substance that, in the region of intelligible beauty, does this very thing eternally and always." Proclus<sup>4</sup> maintains that Kronos could have the beautifying vision described by Socrates. The 10th treatise of the *Corpus Hermeticum* says:

the contents of the Good<sup>5</sup> ... not only does not change swiftly down to us, but it does not even deprive and obstruct with all immortal life. They who are able, by a happy chance at their sight, often fall asleep and from out of the body, as the forest of Arcadia, just like it happened to Ouranos and Kronos, our ancestors.<sup>6</sup>

As we saw in the second chapter, Waszink<sup>7</sup> focused on a series of Orphic fragments, from which it is possible for us to understand that during Zeus's creative activity, Kronos, kept in a cave and asleep, had many dreams and visions of the metaphysical hypercosmic realms. Therefore Zeus could obtain higher directions so as to create the world correctly. These fragments are sometimes obscure; among other things, they merge Orphic and Neoplatonic ideas. Proclus interpreted<sup>8</sup> this Orphic

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Corpus Hermeticum* 106 A, 107 A.

<sup>2</sup> Plato, *Corpus Hermeticum* 106 B.

<sup>3</sup> In *Julianus Imperatoris Orationes* 14, 100 A, ed. G. Wirth (Leipzig: Weigand, 1904), 100 A, 100 B.

<sup>4</sup> Proclus, *Corpus Hermeticum* 104.

<sup>5</sup> I. H. Waszink, "The Unseen Kronos in the *Corpus Hermeticum*," *Revue de Philologie et d'Histoire Littéraire* 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 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Figure 3.6: Immature genitalia of *A. thersites* (Maddalati, 1990), representing the Egyptian population collected from Merghat, in 1990 (photograph by the author).

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of God. This manifestation, other had a human form, it was the *Anthropos*, a sort of Platonic ideal of Man, the perfect man, in which male and female were united. On the other hand, the Egyptian polymorphic creator god (an example is shown in figure 5.6) did not contemplate, but engendered from himself the beings, which reproduced the forms of himself.

Classical thought also conceived a statue representing the Anthropos. The Naas-series referred to Chaldean doctrines, according to which the

Thus, regarding A below, in the first part of the spectrum plot, the two  $\alpha$  manifest almost a triplet (it is perhaps worth noting that a number of experiments [Bauer et al. 1976 and Kozlowski 1978] have reported that the spectrum of the  $\alpha$  is a complex which might be worth noting), as compared to the  $\beta$  peak, which is a simple triplet. A and between these two oligomers and those in the higher generation, the high  $\alpha$  is a simple triplet.

Anthropos, or Adam, was begotten forth by the Earth. He was inanimate like a statue, and represented an image of the divine being, who is above, who was celebrated as Adamas.<sup>1</sup>

### INDIAN SHIVAITE INFLUENCES ON NEOPLATONIC THEOLOGY

When I first saw the gem in Naples, I had the impression that the style of Helios's image was not Greek, but rather Indian. The movement of his hip, the frontality, and the sensual rendering of the body recalled Indian statuary. My impression was, in fact, correct. In a fragment of Porphyry, from his treatise on *Styges's water*, we read:

The Indians<sup>2</sup> who lived in Syria under the reign of the emperor Antonine<sup>3</sup> had a discussion with the Mesopotamian Bardesanes, and related, as Bardesanes wrote, the following things:

They also said that there is a natural big case, or a big mountain, whose summit is in the middle of the Earth. In this case there is a statue whose height was estimated to be twelve cubits. It is sculpted, with spread arms, in the form of a cross. The right part of the legs is masculine and the left feminine. Moreover, on the same way, on the right arm and foot and on the left of the body is inscribed a word, the left part is feminine. One is astonished therefore, when this man is seen and one could ask him: It is possible to see this diversity of the two parts in one body. It is said that on that statue the stream is carried around the right primary, and the stream around the left and on the arms . . . In an artist's *epitaphion*,<sup>4</sup> on which statues, angels, and whenever it is that exists in this world are sculpted, namely the sky, mountains, sea, earth, oceans, plants, animals, and in short all the existing things, it is said that God gave this statue to the Sun when this latter was creating the world but he did not see a model in order to create it.<sup>5</sup>

The tale of the Brahmanas, led by Sandales, corroborates by describing other features of this statue and of the case. The account was found by Porphyry on the book on India by Bardesanes. The most important thing is that Greek and Syrian theologians knew the form of the Indian androgynous god, after which creation was made. We now have the archaeological

<sup>1</sup> Hippolytus, *Refutation of the Christians* 5.1.1.1.1.1.

<sup>2</sup> From other passages it becomes clear that they were Indians.

<sup>3</sup> Heliodorus.

<sup>4</sup> On *Styges's water* in Porphyry, *Philosophy as a Way of Life* (London: Duckworth, 2000), 256.

<sup>5</sup> The text is interpreted.

<sup>6</sup> "Theophylaktos," *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte* (Weidmannsh.









Figure 3.7. Terracotta statue of Lord Ardhanarishvara, XIV century CE, from the State of Tamil Nadu, Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago.

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from the 9th century, in the collection of the Maharaja of Jaipur,<sup>10</sup> and a bronze statue from the 11th century from Tiruvankadu housed in the Madras Museum. Reliefs of Ardhanarishvara are also cut in caves, for example, on the Elephanta (Bombay) island, 5th to 8th centuries<sup>11</sup> and in Mogularajapuram near Vijayawada, in the Andhra Pradesh region, where a statue from the 4th century is kept.<sup>12</sup> Here the god is surrounded by divine beings and symbols of everything to show that he is the origin of every generation.<sup>13</sup> Ardhanarishvara's images show him with a lot of gender features on the left and on the right sides of his/her body, as described by Porphyry. The left female half wears bracelets and ankle rings, bracelets on hands and feet, and is holding a mirror or a lotus stem. The male half is holding a weapon in the form of a trident with undulate prongs, the *trishula*; he wears a tiger skin and is adorned by a skull or a snake.<sup>14</sup>

The iconography of the Indian hermaphroditic god is repeated in this small theological treatise carved on the gem. The snake and the animal's skin, maybe the lotus stem too, are also present on the intaglio; the trident has been transformed into the caduceus of the herald god. Other symbols, missing in the Indian models, have been added: the corpse, the thunderbolt, the bag of Pan, and, above all, the animal-headed creation god. This god does not occur in the Indian Ardhanarishvara's iconography, but occurs in the Brahmins' interview with Bardesanes. In Indian art it appears that Shakti is embraced by Shiva and is looking up to him; this attitude symbolized the beginning of creation. But we will also see that the creator was present in Indian literature of the Imperial Age.

The idea of creating as copying after a model is a Platonic one. According to Platonism, everything on the Earth is an imitation of a divine and perfect model. Indian theology gives to Ardhanarishvara or to the couple Shiva-Parvati the function of creating. Nevertheless it is true that several images of Ardhanarishvara represent him accompanied by a number of symbols and deities that symbolize the cosmic reality. The idea of condensing everything in the divine unity is a feature of demiurgical gods in several theological systems of the Imperial Age. The Egyptian Pantheos—or polymorphic Bes—is one divinity of this kind.

The doctrines alluded to in Bardesanes and Porphyry recur in the *Upamshads*, that is, in Indian treatises that were known in Imperial times, and not only in India. According to the *Upamshads*, the divine unity is

<sup>10</sup> See *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 1974, 1, 2, 1.

<sup>11</sup> See *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 1974, 1, 2, 1.

<sup>12</sup> *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 1974, 1, 2, 1.

<sup>13</sup> See *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 1974, 1, 2, 1.

<sup>14</sup> See *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 1974, 1, 2, 1.

the Brahman, which is present everywhere in the world as well as in the human soul. According to the *Śvetāśvara Upanishad*, Brahman cannot be viewed as a cause, for this reason, Brahman, when acting in this world, manifests itself as Brahman Iśvara, the Lord, the principle of creation. Iśvara is therefore the creator. Iśvara is Brahman who has a form and creates every form. Brahman is formless; Iśvara has a form and could establish a relation between Brahman and the world. The *Upanishads* know one specific creator-god, called Brahma or Hiranya-garbhā, which is the World-Soul. He is not clearly distinguished from Iśvara. Brahman, Iśvara, and Hiranya-garbhā are the foundations of the manifested world.<sup>1</sup> The *Maitri Upanishad* maintains that Brahman has two aspects, the formless and the formed. The formed is caused by the formless. Brahman is light and that which is light is sun (Maitri—*Upanishad* VI.5). Therefore the Brahmanic doctrines spoken of in Bardesanes were rooted in the theology of the *Upanishads*.

Very few Indian theological treatises were translated into Greek or Latin or summarized and consequently were relatively unknown in the Roman Empire. During the same period when Bardesanes met the Brahmins, the Christian writer Hippolytus reported in his heresiological work several Brahmanic doctrines<sup>2</sup> that correspond to the theology of Sanskrit sources and above all the *Maitri Upanishad*. The knowledge of the contents of the *Maitri Upanishad* appears to have been quite correct, even though one cannot decide whether the Christian heretics had read a translation or had learned the *Upanishad's* philosophy directly from the Brahmins.

Now we meet again, on the scene, a doctrine of the *Upanishads*, and again this concept appears in the *Maitri Upanishad*, the doctrine of Iśvara, or, more precisely, of Ardhanarīśvara. One could suppose that Iśvara's theology and Ardhanarīśvara's iconography were influenced by Western theologies, and more important, by Platonism, and that the Brahmins—traveling, living, or dwelling for some time in Syria—were the medium between India and Western thought.<sup>3</sup> But there are strong reasons to suppose this influence came in an inverse way, from India to the Hellenistic

<sup>1</sup> See S. Radhakrishnan, *An Inquiry into Philosophy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), for a comprehensive study of the concept of Brahman. For the concept of Brahman in the *Upanishads* see Neelkantha Ganguli, *Upanishads* (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1909), 100–101; and S. Radhakrishnan, *An Inquiry into Philosophy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 100–101.

<sup>2</sup> Hippolytus, *Refutation* 9.1.4.

<sup>3</sup> See J. H. Hume, Jr., "The religious and philosophical background of Hippolytus," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 19 (1958), 35–51; J. M. A. de Bruijn, "Early Roman Brahmanism and Indian Platonism," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 22 (1961), 241–52.

<sup>4</sup> Porphyry, *On Abstinence* IV.1.10, reports a Syrian priest of Bardesanes, who spoke of a Brahman and was said to meet the emperor.





reign was weakened by military debacles. This is proved by the discovery of a number of Severan aures, and even their local imitations, which have been found in India.<sup>10</sup>

Through the examination of these gems we know of another exceptional case of an interaction between theologies. As claimed by Flavius Philostratus,<sup>11</sup> the Indian Brahmins taught that the cosmos was a living being that was made up of both sexes, which loved each other and thus created the cosmos itself.

The attitude of the creator on the gem recalls that of theurgists during their performances. In fact, Michael Psellus, commenting on a fragment of the Chaldaean Oracles, writes:

As the [theurgist] whorl whorls in his golden balls [called auge], then uttered random sounds, or words like an animal, laughing and laughing no more. He then declared that the messenger of the god, having an ineffable power, accomplishes the rite.<sup>12</sup>

"Theurgist" meant "he who is acting like a god."<sup>13</sup> Theurgists did use whips, roared like animals, and also used axes, in order to imitate the creator god, whose image is depicted on the Naples gem. One could therefore suppose that the gem corresponds to Indian theological ideas merged with some features of theurgical religion. Moreover, one has to admit that the Gnostic ideas shared similar features of the animal-like creator, who was inspired by the vision of supreme realities. According to Gnostic ideas—as we have seen—the supreme divinities were androgynous.<sup>14</sup>

Having ascertained the Indian influence on the iconography of that gem, it is possible to put forward a hypothetical interpretation of the inscription *charkandabate* as a partially Sanskrit word, which surrounds the god's head. In Sanskrit, *chakra* signifies "disk, wheel, circle,"<sup>15</sup> but the rest, *dabate*, has no meaning. It is possible to add that the word

<sup>10</sup> P. Bruggen & Peter, "The coinage of the emperor," in *ANEP. Catalogue des Monnaies antiques de l'empire romain*, fasc. 2, Paris, 1962, 11–16.

<sup>11</sup> Philostratus, *Life*, 11.33.

<sup>12</sup> Psellus, *Commentary on the Chaldaean Oracles*, 11.2.10. Cf. also 11.2.11. A. Marinopoulos, "The Oracles of the Chaldaean Oracles," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 113 (2003), 1–15.

<sup>13</sup> See, for example, P. Bruggen, "Theurgy and theurgy," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 113 (2003), 1–15. Cf. also P. Bruggen, "Theurgy and theurgy," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 113 (2003), 1–15. Cf. also P. Bruggen, "Theurgy and theurgy," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 113 (2003), 1–15.

<sup>14</sup> P. Bruggen, "Theurgy and theurgy," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 113 (2003), 1–15. Cf. also P. Bruggen, "Theurgy and theurgy," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 113 (2003), 1–15. Cf. also P. Bruggen, "Theurgy and theurgy," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 113 (2003), 1–15.

<sup>15</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., Chicago, 1968, 11: 111.







Figure 3.8. Yellow papyrus of the British Museum, London, representing a knee god and the goddess Erosos.

Reproduced from *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1996, 116, 1.

tormentus, its body is frontal; its ears are pointed, its open hands are human and are placed under two stars. Over its head a snake is raised, the snake's head is decorated with a palm branch. On the left side the name ANOYMII and the Chionobos's sign (SSS) flanked by one central line are cut. Chionobos, or Chionobis, is a peculiar form of the Egyptian creator god Chnum, whose snake's body has a lion's head. This god is represented on the right side of the gem, coiled and looking up to the tall god. On the reverse side the inscription is: ΗΛΙΑΜΒΡΩ ΑΒΡΑΜΑΙΩΝ ΑΝΘΩ (Heliambros Avramioth Anthō).

2. The same god is depicted on another gem (Figure 3.9) made of the same material, which is kept in the Skokholm collection.<sup>7</sup> In this case its arms are almost completely open, its head is that of a dog, it is trichophalic and standing on beaded legs. It is alone and the inscription on the reverse is: ΗΛΙΑΒΡΩ ΣΗΜΙ ΝΙΟΡΩ ΤΟΜΗΖΑΤΗ ΑΠΟΝΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΣΤΟΜΑΧΟΝ ΜΑΡΙΑΝ (Heliambros Nionomio tree Maria from stomakh pious).

3. The same god is depicted on another yellow papyrus in the Staatliche Münzsammlung in Munich.<sup>8</sup> Here the inscription ends with ... ΧΑΡΧ-ΑΡΧΑΙΕΛΩ, which could recall the word ΧΑΡΧΕΝΑΒΡΑΗ on the rays of the god of the gem from Naples.

<sup>7</sup> Skokholm, *Handbook of Jewellery*, 1970, Munich, *Verlag der Staatlichen Münzsammlung*, 2007, pp. 112.

<sup>8</sup> Skokholm, Skokholm & Geller, *Gold & Silver Jewellery*, Munich, *Verlag der Staatlichen Münzsammlung*, 1979, p. 260.







Figure 3.10A. A photograph of the coin of the Mithraeum, Paris, representing a hairy god (photograph by the author).

Representing a hairy god, the coin is a symbol of the Mithraeum.

manifestation of the unknowable god. The speculation of the Naissenes looked for traces of such a god in the pagan tradition and through the mysteries of Samothrace they found a record of such a divine manifestation. The Father of the Church writes that the Naissene is dealing with

the great and ineffable mystery of the Samothracians, which is allowable— he says—to us only who are initiated to know. For the Samothra-



Figure 1.1111. Reverse side.

erally, especially Chalchicomula. One is struck that one celebrated among them, Ahmo, is the patron of Chalchicomula, the saint in the temple of the Synthon, a minor deity, a local deity, whose image, both hands stretched forth towards heaven, and thus, pointed upwards, is with the statue of Mercury on Mount Orizaba.

It is possible but far from certain, that the miscephalic and cynocephalic god<sup>10</sup> on the gem is Mercury-Hermes on his Egyptian form. The Egyptian Hermes was Thoth, who had two main iconographies, either as a baboon or as an ibis. The cynocephalic type is often represented on magical gems with raised arms and a phallus, an adaptation of the sun-god Harpokrates. The interpretation of the gem as the creator or contemplation of the Anthropos is probable.

If we want to take a step further in the same direction, we notice the little snake on the Anthropos's head. Its position is the same as the small

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Ahmo, see P. Méliès, 'Les divinités du Mexique central', *Annales de l'École Française d'Études Supérieures*, 1902, pp. 111-112.

<sup>11</sup> According to S. Méliès, *op. cit.*, p. 111, the image of Thoth is cynocephalic.



Figure 3.11. Red aspect of the Brachy Menzies, London, representing a hairy god and the mother's triumph.

Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

god on the head of the Indian god. In this case, it is often assumed that it represented the river Ganges over the head of Ardhanarivara. Sometimes the images of Shiva show a furious old woman twisted in the hair of the god; she is Ganga, the personification of the Indian river.<sup>5</sup> In Western thought such a goddess could not have a meaning. According to Bardesanes and Porphyry, instead of this woman, a god on a throne was represented. One image of Ardhanarivara shows him with a snake in his hair.<sup>6</sup> 'The little snake on the penis could represent the snake god of the Northern pole of the heaven, the divine supreme god, according to some Gnostic religious streams.'<sup>7</sup> In this case, the cynocephalic Antropos was raising his hands and his phallus toward this god. Obviously, other interpretations are possible.

The simple use of these amulets, which were cut for the health of the stomach and other organs, should not lead us to underestimate the theological speculation that supports the daily use of amulets.

<sup>5</sup> André-Jean Guénon, *Gods and Symbols in Religion: The Celtic, Christian, Arabic and the Fragments of the Cosmogonic Systems*, by R. C. Zaehner and the *Alphic Nalips* Fragments, by H. De Vries (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1934, 1937) (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1934) were found in the Ganges.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., figs. 11, 12, fig. 13.

<sup>7</sup> *Manuscriptum*, *Deus* (Paris: Mages, 1945), 18, 19.

## CONCLUSION

It is wise to limit the conclusion of this research to the discovery of Brahmanic theological influences on Western religious speculation on the supreme god and the creator. Communication between Brahmins and people of the Roman Empire would not have been exceptional, even though it was very rare to have the opportunity of bringing together a thinker like Bardesanes and Indian wise men. According to the fabulous story of Apollonius of Tyana by Heliodorus Philostratus, "this Pythagorean prophet once went to India and met the Brahmins. They gave him seven rings, on which the names of seven planets were cut, and he wore these rings alternately during the week."

It is very probable that this story is only a fable, but readers of Philostratus accepted it as a possibility. The gem in the Museum of Naples shows that such magical stones were produced under the influence of Indian Brahmanic doctrines. In this way the divine Anthropos, the supreme Idea produced by the unknowable and higher god to give a model to creation, was proposed in the Indian style.

\* *Vienna Zeitschrift* III 41.



## Chapter 4

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### ASKLEPIOS LEONTOUCHOS AND DIVINE TRIADS ON SYRIAN GEMS







## ONE ARABIAN DIVINE TRIAD AND ONE FROM HIERAPOLIS

Magical gems are not exclusively a product of Roman Egypt; Syria and neighboring areas played an important role in their production. Several years ago Giles Bowersock<sup>1</sup> produced a short study about an inscribed Jasper gem that was seen by Wilhelm Froehner in Nazareth. The inscription on the gem is:

APIE  
HEANAPPOE  
AOYΣAPH  
NOYAFMIΘ  
HEAΣOH  
PABON

In the fourth line a feminine Semitic name can be recognized: NOYAFMIΘ, or better NOYAFMI. SHM PABON is a male Semitic name, and line 5 contains a verb, apparently, "is loved." Therefore Bowersock suggests a magical use for the gem in an ecotic context. This fact isolates the three names on lines 1-3 as those of a divine triad: Ares, Hangedreus, and Dusareis. The coinage of the city of Bostra under the Roman Emperors Elagabalus, Decius, and Elrusilla depicts two heretals, sacred stones supposed to be endowed with life and to be seats of gods, and bears the name of Dusares. The name of the second heretel could be one of those on the gem.

This is not a singular case among magical gems; we know of a few specimens that depict triads from various of the Near East, and the joint study of gems and coins allows a good understanding of the local civic cults. Indeed, the coinage of a number of Near Eastern cities depicts local gods, which are sometimes organized in triads.

Another example is that of a hemistria from Seyrig's collection (figure 4.11, now in the Cabinet des Médailles, and bought at Aleppo). The form of this hemistria is very similar to a small kidney. Plus the Elder<sup>2</sup> knew of a stone called "Aḥlād's kidney"; it is highly probable that this stone was

<sup>1</sup> G. Bowersock, *Antiquities of the East* (Oxford, 1968), 17-21.

<sup>2</sup> W. Froehner, *Mittheilungen aus dem Orient* (Leipzig, 1878), 11-12; H. Seyrig, "Géologie, topographie, et histoire de l'antiquité de l'Asie Mineure," *Revue de l'histoire de la géographie* (Paris), 1901, 1, 1-15; H. Seyrig, "L'Asie Mineure," *Revue de l'histoire de la géographie* (Paris), 1901, 1, 1-15; W. Bowersock, "The Asclepias Area," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New Haven), 1968, 44, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> H. Seyrig, "Antiquité de l'Asie Mineure," *Revue de l'histoire de la géographie* (Paris), 1901, 1, 1-15; H. W. Freeman, *The Asclepias Area* (Leipzig, 1878), 11-12; H. Seyrig, *Revue de l'histoire de la géographie* (Paris), 1901, 1, 1-15.

<sup>4</sup> National Library of the Vatican Museums, *Revue de l'histoire de la géographie* (Paris), 1901, 1, 1-15; H. Seyrig, *Revue de l'histoire de la géographie* (Paris), 1901, 1, 1-15; H. W. Freeman, *The Asclepias Area* (Leipzig, 1878), 11-12; H. Seyrig, *Revue de l'histoire de la géographie* (Paris), 1901, 1, 1-15.

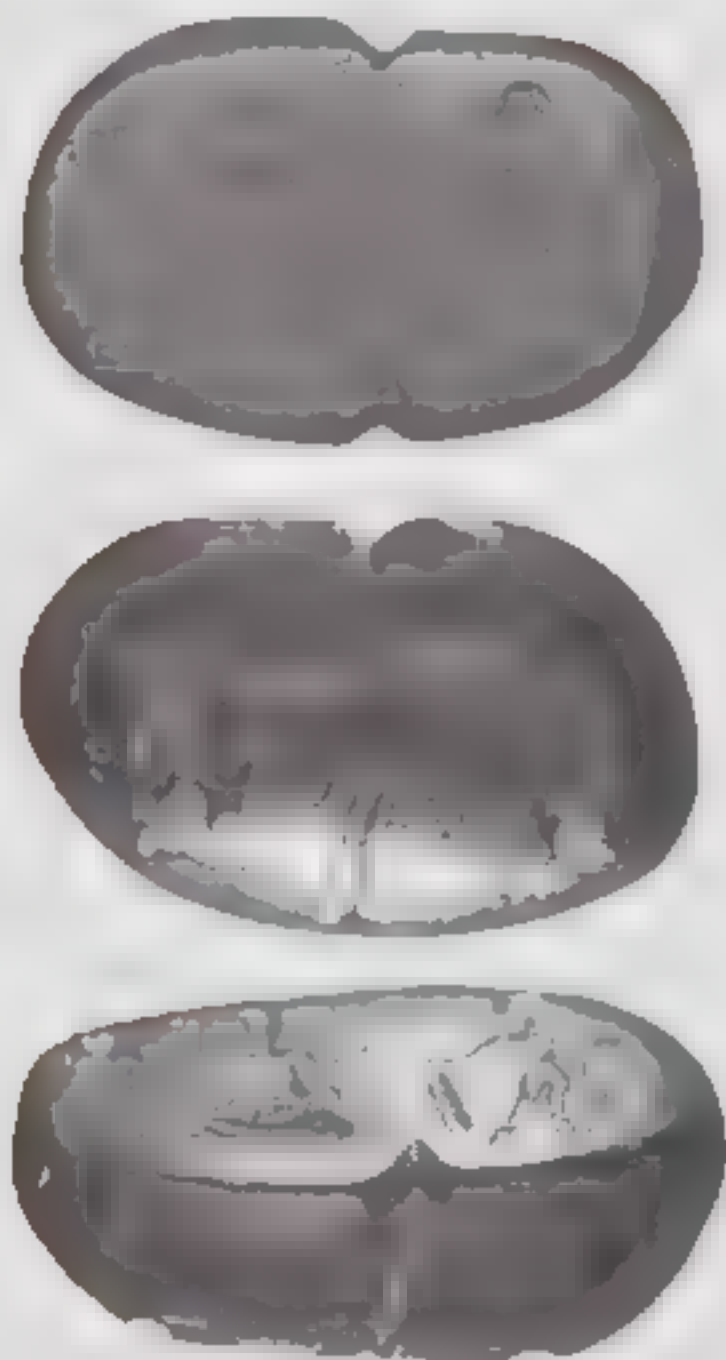


Figure 4.1. Hemateite triangles in the Cabinet des Medailles, Paris, representing a Syrian divine triad (photograph by the author).

Reproduced with the permission of the Cabinet des Medailles.





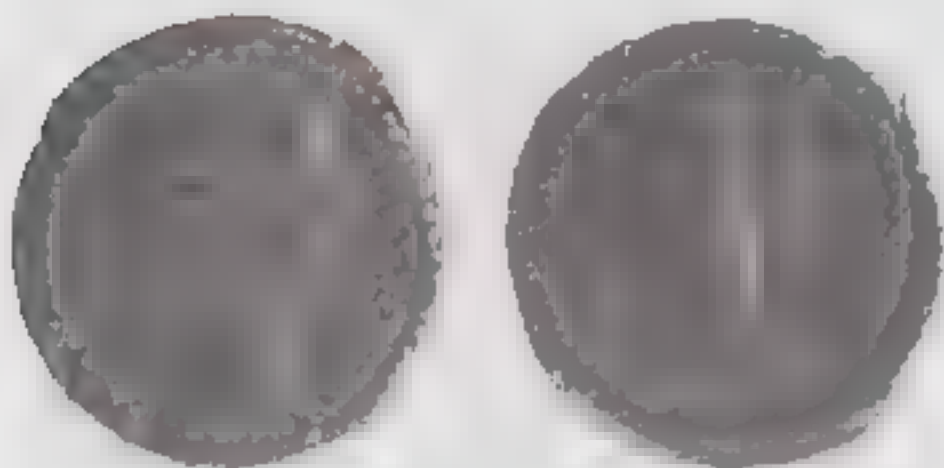


Figure 4.3 Bronze coin of Augustus, from the era of Augustan Pax, representing *Panopliae*.

Reproduced from *Imagines indolis augustae*.

of this hero's image has been controversial but the gem is very clear in depicting the characteristic sword of Perseus and garments rendered in Paphian style. Many cities of Southern Phoenicia and Palestine, especially Ioppé,<sup>1</sup> venerated the Greek hero, who was believed to be an ancestor of the Persians.<sup>2</sup> In Egypt too Perseus was greatly respected, especially in the Theban district.<sup>3</sup> Fishermen of the Erythraean sea called a big fish "Perseus," clearly remembering the myth of Perseus and Danaë recovered by the fishermen of Seriphos, as told in Aeschylus's *Phrygians*.<sup>4</sup> Scenes and characters of the myth of Perseus were popular in Anatolia, especially during the Persian domination, as has been proved by the pictures of Elmalı in Lycia or by the coin of Chrysaor in eastern Asia. In the late 4th century BC, on Samarian silver issues, the Gorgoneion and Pegasus were represented.<sup>5</sup> The Gorgon was the monster that Perseus beheaded and Pegasus was the horse that was engendered by the Gorgon and the brother of Chrysaor. Robin Lane Fox correctly stated that "Perseus became the hero of integration between East and West."<sup>6</sup> The antiquity of the

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, *Judean Antiquities* III 420; *Antiquities* Naturalis historia V 129; *Geography* IV 139.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus V 125, 153-4.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus II 104; Strabo, *Geography* II 104; *Antiquities* IV 139.

<sup>4</sup> Aeschylus, *Phrygians* 112-13; Herodotus IV 139.

<sup>5</sup> *Idem* III 146-47.

<sup>6</sup> Fox, *Antiquities*, "The Samarian silver issues," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 106 (1986): 196-201.

<sup>7</sup> R. Lane Fox, *Ancient Phoenicia and the Punic World* (Oxford, 1975), 210.



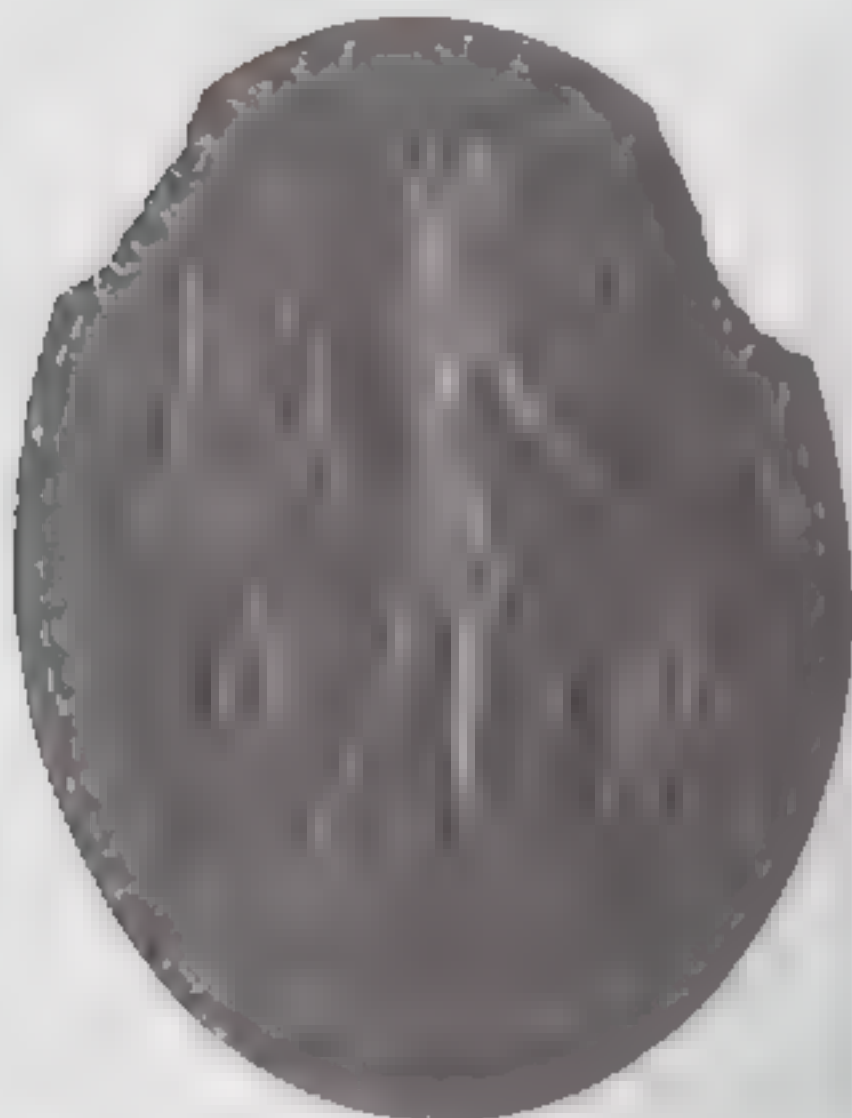


Figure 4.4. An example of one of the forms of Asclepius in Asia Minor. Traditionally, it presents one of four attributes, and with additional features, such as the serpent-phallos, a snake coiled around the phallus.

Reproduced with the permission of the Trustees of the British Museum, London.

nized an Egyptian expression signifying “living heart of Re.” The Jewish tradition knew the hand, the arm, the feet, the wisdom, the word of God—in the Imperial Age many of these divine manifestations were worshipped as independent gods. Also Perseus of Ascalon was a minor god of Ascalon. His relation to Baal was probably similar to that of the Greek hero to Zeus: His son. The cult of Perseus was a peculiar Near-Eastern and

Egyptian feature, whereas the Greeks gave him minor importance. In consideration of the antiquity of the spreading of the cult of Perseus in Anatolia, Palestine, Samaria, and Egypt, one cannot exclude that any feature of his myth had been borrowed by the Greeks from an Eastern culture. Furthermore, Perseus earned an important place in the religious doctrines that could be defined as non-Christian gnostics.<sup>11</sup> The leontocephalic warrior god, who was called Lidalioroth or Sahioroth, was sometimes depicted as Medusa's conqueror. On several gems he is holding the monster's head and a sword (figure 4.41). Another gem bears an inscription that mentions Perseus as he who pursues the demon of pellagra.<sup>12</sup>

### ASKLEPIOS WITH THE LIONS

A lead tessera from Ascalon depicts Phanebafos, Asklepios, and Hygieia.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, it is evident that the physician god was worshipped with the Greek hero. In Ascalon, Asklepios had very peculiar features: he was a god accompanied by three lions.

The god with three lions and Egyptian dress is typical of the Ascalonite pantheon, which has been recently studied by Nicole Belayche.<sup>14</sup> His image recurs on the coins of that city (figures 4.3 and 4.40) and on six gems.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> A. Mouton, *Le culte du dieu Asclepios à l'époque hellénistique* (Louvain and Paris: Les Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1970), p. 100.

<sup>12</sup> Y. G. H. Harpelle, *Les gemmes grecques* (Paris: Études Érudites, 1970), pp. 100-101; *The Gemmed Inscriptions of the Hellenistic Period* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), no. 10, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

<sup>13</sup> N. Belayche, *Asclepios et les lions à Ascalon* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collection de la Revue de la Numismatique, 1976), pp. 14-16.

<sup>14</sup> N. Belayche, *Asclepios et les lions à Ascalon* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collection de la Revue de la Numismatique, 1976), pp. 14-16.

<sup>15</sup> N. Belayche, *Asclepios et les lions à Ascalon* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collection de la Revue de la Numismatique, 1976), pp. 14-16.

<sup>16</sup> N. Belayche, *Asclepios et les lions à Ascalon* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collection de la Revue de la Numismatique, 1976), pp. 14-16.

<sup>17</sup> N. Belayche, *Asclepios et les lions à Ascalon* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collection de la Revue de la Numismatique, 1976), pp. 14-16.

<sup>18</sup> N. Belayche, *Asclepios et les lions à Ascalon* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collection de la Revue de la Numismatique, 1976), pp. 14-16.

<sup>19</sup> N. Belayche, *Asclepios et les lions à Ascalon* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collection de la Revue de la Numismatique, 1976), pp. 14-16.

<sup>20</sup> N. Belayche, *Asclepios et les lions à Ascalon* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collection de la Revue de la Numismatique, 1976), pp. 14-16.

<sup>21</sup> N. Belayche, *Asclepios et les lions à Ascalon* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collection de la Revue de la Numismatique, 1976), pp. 14-16.

<sup>22</sup> N. Belayche, *Asclepios et les lions à Ascalon* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collection de la Revue de la Numismatique, 1976), pp. 14-16.

<sup>23</sup> N. Belayche, *Asclepios et les lions à Ascalon* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collection de la Revue de la Numismatique, 1976), pp. 14-16.

<sup>24</sup> N. Belayche, *Asclepios et les lions à Ascalon* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collection de la Revue de la Numismatique, 1976), pp. 14-16.

<sup>25</sup> N. Belayche, *Asclepios et les lions à Ascalon* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collection de la Revue de la Numismatique, 1976), pp. 14-16.

<sup>26</sup> N. Belayche, *Asclepios et les lions à Ascalon* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collection de la Revue de la Numismatique, 1976), pp. 14-16.

<sup>27</sup> N. Belayche, *Asclepios et les lions à Ascalon* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collection de la Revue de la Numismatique, 1976), pp. 14-16.

<sup>28</sup> N. Belayche, *Asclepios et les lions à Ascalon* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collection de la Revue de la Numismatique, 1976), pp. 14-16.

<sup>29</sup> N. Belayche, *Asclepios et les lions à Ascalon* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collection de la Revue de la Numismatique, 1976), pp. 14-16.

<sup>30</sup> N. Belayche, *Asclepios et les lions à Ascalon* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collection de la Revue de la Numismatique, 1976), pp. 14-16.



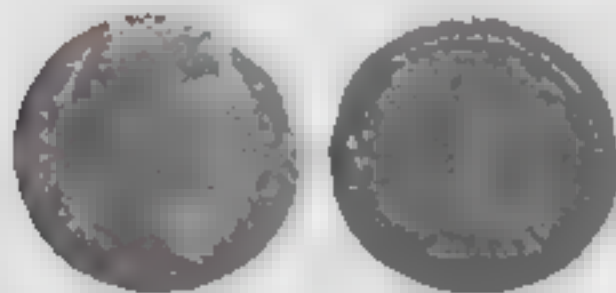


Figure 4.5. Bronze coins of Asclepios, from the era of Antoninus Pius, representing Asklepios with three lions.

Reproduced from Internet Auction Catalogues.



Figure 4.6. Bronze coins of Asclepios, from the era of Antoninus Pius, representing Asklepios with three lions.

Reproduced from Internet Auction Catalogues.

Sometimes his bust over three lions is represented on the coins. Of the six gems:

1. One is kept in Verona, as has been said.
2. Another is kept in Bonn, at the Franz Joseph Dölger Museum.<sup>1</sup> (Figure 4.7). The following inscription can be read on its reverse side: ΕΥΤΥΧΙΑ ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΣ, where it is possible to recognize *Eutuxia* (Εὐτυχία) 'good luck, Asklepios!'

<sup>1</sup> E. Legermann, *Die Antiken des Röm. Museums Bonn* (1979), 247, Pl. 24, 25 (no. 196). See also M. Drexel, *Antike Gemmen von Bonn: Antikenmuseum Bonn – Antikensammlung Bonn – Münz- und Medaillensammlung*, 78 (Sept. 2002), 33, Fig. 20.1. See also: *Antikensammlung Bonn – Antikensammlung der Universität Bonn*, 2002, 33–34, no. 119. Last: *Antiken – Gemmen und Medaillen* (Bonn, 2007), 219, 339, no. 783.



Figure 4.7. Green copper-stained medallion kept in the Franz Joseph Deger Museum, Bonn drawing, *Antich. Epigraphica*.

Antiquarium Bonn, inv. no. 1. 18. 19. 19. 19. 19.

1. One is in Paris, at the Cabinet des Médailles.<sup>1</sup> (Figure 4.8); here Perseus is on front of Psephos; on the other side, Asklepios is standing on the lion, and a monkey is worshipping him.

4. A fourth specimen is kept in the British Museum.<sup>2</sup> (Figure 4.9).

5. One has been found in a tomb at Angkor.<sup>3</sup>

6. Another one was published by S. Reinhard.<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, a magnetite stone in the Skobuda collection depicts a standing god wearing an Egyptian crown (owl-horn feathers), accompanied by a lion; the inscription on the reverse side is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ.<sup>5</sup>

Since the time of Hill's publication of Palaeontologiae in the British Museum, this god has often been identified as Osiris. Indeed, he is holding the *neheh* whip and the *was* sceptre<sup>6</sup> and on his head the *bombos* crown or the *kalathos* is placed. The *kalathos* is typical of Sarapis, who

<sup>1</sup> Hill, *Palaeontologiae*, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Hill, *Palaeontologiae*, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> Hill, *Palaeontologiae*, p. 48. The stone is now in the collection of the British Museum, inv. no. 18. 19. 19. 19. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Hill, *Palaeontologiae*, p. 48. The stone is now in the collection of the British Museum, inv. no. 18. 19. 19. 19. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Hill, *Palaeontologiae*, p. 48. The stone is now in the collection of the British Museum, inv. no. 18. 19. 19. 19. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Hill, *Palaeontologiae*, p. 48. The stone is now in the collection of the British Museum, inv. no. 18. 19. 19. 19. 19.



Figure 4.1A. Front aspect of the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, representing Petens with Poseidon on the obverse and Asklepios with Hygieia on the reverse. Delant, Derham, no. 423; photographed by the author.

Reproduced with the permission of the Cabinet des Médailles.



Figure 4.5B Roman coin.

is the Greek and Roman form of Osiris. Hall, in his catalogue of the coins in the British Museum, supposed that the standing god was Osiris and the bust Isis,<sup>1</sup> whereas Meibner suggested identifying both with Isis,<sup>2</sup> and Brawley with Harpokrates or Horus of Mount Kasios.

<sup>1</sup> Hall, *Catalogue of the Coins of the British Museum*, p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> Meibner, *Die Münzen des Römischen Reichs vom Principat bis zur Vandalenzeit*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Verlag von Carl Habel, 1864), I, 163.



Imhotep and Osiris. The Hellenistic and Roman form of Osiris, that is, Sarapis, was identified with Asklepios at Bethesda.<sup>17</sup>

### DERKETO—ISIS—TYCHE

The goddess at the center of the triad is one of Ascalon's major divinities. A typical goddess of Ascalon was Derketo ("the mighty one"), and her idol was that of a big woman-headed fish.<sup>18</sup> The same goddess is represented on the Seleucid coins of Pantaion.<sup>19</sup> "Diodorus" says that in Ascalon doves were sacred and revered as divinities. Other authors refer to Ascalon's doves "as well. In Hierapolis, also in Syria, doves were sacred to Derketo."<sup>20</sup> At Ascalon and Aphrodisias, in Caria, the doves, sacred to Aphrodite, lived undisturbed as it was forbidden to catch them.<sup>21</sup> The dove was also the symbol of Ascalon on late republican and Imperial Age coins.<sup>22</sup> On one coin<sup>23</sup> she wears a quon sickle on her head and is accompanied by a sea Triton.

The Phoenicians, Syrians, and Egyptians often associated doves with Astarte and Aphrodite, identified with Ashtar.<sup>24</sup> The bird that the goddess is holding on the gem is a dove. Astarte was another great goddess of Ascalon, often called Palestinian Astarte, or Aphrodite Ophania by her devotees at Delos.<sup>25</sup> A symbol of Astarte's rule over the sea is evident on the coin, the *apistate*,<sup>26</sup> the ornament on the ship's stern, and therefore one can deduce that this goddess is also Derketo. Apparently the doves

<sup>17</sup> Beltracchi, *Archaeological Dictionary*, 460-61.

<sup>18</sup> Diodorus II.4.2, 2.48, 2.49, 2.50, 2.51, 2.52, 2.53, 2.54, 2.55, 2.56, 2.57, 2.58, 2.59, 2.60, 2.61, 2.62, 2.63, 2.64, 2.65, 2.66, 2.67, 2.68, 2.69, 2.70, 2.71, 2.72, 2.73, 2.74, 2.75, 2.76, 2.77, 2.78, 2.79, 2.80, 2.81, 2.82, 2.83, 2.84, 2.85, 2.86, 2.87, 2.88, 2.89, 2.90, 2.91, 2.92, 2.93, 2.94, 2.95, 2.96, 2.97, 2.98, 2.99, 3.00, 3.01, 3.02, 3.03, 3.04, 3.05, 3.06, 3.07, 3.08, 3.09, 3.10, 3.11, 3.12, 3.13, 3.14, 3.15, 3.16, 3.17, 3.18, 3.19, 3.20, 3.21, 3.22, 3.23, 3.24, 3.25, 3.26, 3.27, 3.28, 3.29, 3.30, 3.31, 3.32, 3.33, 3.34, 3.35, 3.36, 3.37, 3.38, 3.39, 3.40, 3.41, 3.42, 3.43, 3.44, 3.45, 3.46, 3.47, 3.48, 3.49, 3.50, 3.51, 3.52, 3.53, 3.54, 3.55, 3.56, 3.57, 3.58, 3.59, 3.60, 3.61, 3.62, 3.63, 3.64, 3.65, 3.66, 3.67, 3.68, 3.69, 3.70, 3.71, 3.72, 3.73, 3.74, 3.75, 3.76, 3.77, 3.78, 3.79, 3.80, 3.81, 3.82, 3.83, 3.84, 3.85, 3.86, 3.87, 3.88, 3.89, 3.90, 3.91, 3.92, 3.93, 3.94, 3.95, 3.96, 3.97, 3.98, 3.99, 4.00, 4.01, 4.02, 4.03, 4.04, 4.05, 4.06, 4.07, 4.08, 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Figure 4.11. Plaster in the Sarcophagi of Ascalon representing the city-goddess (from the Internet).

of Sarapis, is behind her. The same goddess is represented on the lead weights of Ascalon.<sup>17</sup> One terracotta bust from Ascalon represents Isis-Lyche.<sup>18</sup>

Isis was often seen as the Egyptian form of Aphrodite, and the magical gems refer to Aphrodite's images with the name of Isis or vice versa. Moreover, it is easy to explain the presence of the attributes of Isis, Astarte/Aphrodite, and Lyche in the same divine figure. Modern scholarship has recognized that Ascalon was a Phoenician-Phoenician city with strong Egyptian influences,<sup>19</sup> that is, an intercultural city. Its geographical location is the primary reason for that phenomenon; one hundred years (401–200 BC) of Ptolemaic rule is another.

<sup>17</sup> V. Jorgensen-Kristensen, "The Isis Image on the Weights of Ascalon," *Israel Numismatic Journal*, 16 (2006), 177–182. (Accessed at <http://www.ancient-judaism.com/>).

<sup>18</sup> J. Goussier, "Isis, Lyche, Astarte," in *Stylos Melitensis*, 1 (1969), No. 22–46, part 2b, plate IV.

<sup>19</sup> J. Goussier, V. Jorgensen, "Isis and Ascalon in the Ptolemaic and Hellenistic Periods in *Religion in the Hellenistic World*, 11 (1991), 970–70; J. Goussier, *Judaea Palaestina*, 224–23, 1983, 27–28.



## Chapter 5

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### EMPOUSA, ALSO CALLED ONOSKELIS





During the Imperial Age, many religious streams claimed that a member of the pantheon, one of the most important gods or goddesses, took a multiplicity of forms. Damascus, the last Neoplatonist, says: "Theologians call the polymorphic gods *Agones* because of the first *Agon*'s nature." Indeed, *Proteus*, for example, is only one feature among a constellation of multitorm gods. These divine rulers were continuously changing their forms or contained in themselves all the forms of living beings.

On many magical gems and other monuments an Egyptian god appears (see Figure 3.6, p. 26), whose head is decorated with many animal heads or even with vegetal elements. This god has been known in Egyptian iconography since the first millennium BC. His name varies. In modern literature he is labeled as Pantheos, Ptes Pantheos, or a polymorphic god. Sometimes he is depicted with seven or nine heads. The speculations of theologians of the Imperial Age connected this god to the Orphic traditions, as is proved by the inscription on a gem from Babylon.<sup>1</sup> He was considered a creator god, after whom all the living beings in the world were shaped. Several Gnostic sects were interested in the study of this god, who was considered to be the creator and was known by the Egyptians.

A quite ancient Egyptian tradition claimed that the sun-god changed his form during the day: He was a lotus leaf in the morning, a lion at noon, and a ram in the evening. Consequently, he could be called Serphonthionistic. Several gods and passages of the magical papyri depict four forms of the sun during the day.<sup>1</sup> It was thought by several Christian sects that Christ himself was a changeable being, eternally young and old.<sup>2</sup> Like the sun-god, the four-god-hen was considered to be a changeable being. In particular, the three-form Hekate – who was depicted with the

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[illegible][illegible]

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[illegible][illegible]
$$\mathbb{E} \left[ \left| \left( \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n \left( \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi}} \exp \left( -\frac{1}{2} \left( \frac{1}{\sigma_i^2} \right) \left( \frac{1}{\sigma_i^2} \right) \right) \right) \right) \right|^2 \right] = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n \left( \frac{1}{\sigma_i^2} \right) \left( \frac{1}{\sigma_i^2} \right) = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n \frac{1}{\sigma_i^4}.$$

\* V.A. Bul'ginova, *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR Matematika*, 1986, no. 1, p. 107; English translation in *Mathematics of the USSR-Izvestiya*, 1986, vol. 30, no. 1.

[illegible]

mukhi—was called *amoghahasta*, “the changing one” or “producing changes.”

It is highly probable that the importance given to the polymorphic or metamorphic gods by Imperial Age theologists conferred some dignity on an ancient demon of Greek mythology: Empousa. She was similar to Hekare<sup>1</sup> in that she was a shapeshifter, continuously changing into different animals; she was thought to have one bronze leg<sup>2</sup> in the form of a donkey's leg. She was a popular character of folktales and afterlife scenarios during the age of Aristophanes. As Sarah Hies Johnston<sup>3</sup> has shown, Empousa was the demon who impeded—the name comes apparently from the same root of words such as *empeōn*: “underfoot,” or *empeleia*: “impediment” —man from going on his way, and especially impeded safe passage of the soul either through the process of initiation<sup>4</sup> or on the way to a safe haven in Hades after death.

This same demon is mentioned in *Sodomon's Testament*,<sup>1</sup> a work of the Imperial Age, in which many demons are depicted along with the spells and the angels that could conquer and exorcize them. In this exorcism handbook the demon is called *Ynoskelis*, that is "donkey's leg." It is also evident that he—or she—is none other than Empousa.

As one can see in the lexical repertoires, and encyclopaedias, until now no iconography of Eniponsa was known. But actually three poems do depict Eniponsa. One description has been published quite recently. This poem came from Gushana, in Jordan; the other one is larger and clearer in its details (Figure 5). It was in the 'Be 4' (her collection)' and is now preserved

1. *Journal of Management Studies*, 1991, 28, 1, 1-12.

$$A_{\text{eff}} = A_{\text{eff}}(\omega) = \frac{1}{2} \left( \frac{1}{\omega} \frac{dA}{d\omega} \right)_{\omega=\omega_0} \quad \text{with } A_{\text{eff}}(\omega_0) = 1 \quad \text{and } \frac{dA}{d\omega} \bigg|_{\omega=\omega_0} = 0 \quad \text{if } \omega_0 \neq \omega_{\text{res}}$$
[illegible]

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Figure 10. The effect of the concentration of the initiator on the apparent rate of polymerization in *Arctostaphylos* latexes with different contents of *Arctostaphylos* latexes.

[illegible]

McL. 11, 1993, p. 54. *X. longicauda* is reported from the area of L'Anse-à-l'Orléans, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the Saguenay Fjord, but it is not reported elsewhere in the species' distribution (Archambault, 1989, p. 424).

U. J. Voss, *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 1974, 69, 1099-1102. *See also* 15122, 15123, 15124, 15125, 15126, 15127, 15128, 15129, 15130, 15131, 15132, 15133, 15134, 15135, 15136, 15137, 15138, 15139, 15140, 15141, 15142, 15143, 15144, 15145, 15146, 15147, 15148, 15149, 15150, 15151, 15152, 15153, 15154, 15155, 15156, 15157, 15158, 15159, 15160, 15161, 15162, 15163, 15164, 15165, 15166, 15167, 15168, 15169, 15170, 15171, 15172, 15173, 15174, 15175, 15176, 15177, 15178, 15179, 15180, 15181, 15182, 15183, 15184, 15185, 15186, 15187, 15188, 15189, 15190, 15191, 15192, 15193, 15194, 15195, 15196, 15197, 15198, 15199, 15200, 15201, 15202, 15203, 15204, 15205, 15206, 15207, 15208, 15209, 15210, 15211, 15212, 15213, 15214, 15215, 15216, 15217, 15218, 15219, 15220, 15221, 15222, 15223, 15224, 15225, 15226, 15227, 15228, 15229, 15230, 15231, 15232, 15233, 15234, 15235, 15236, 15237, 15238, 15239, 15240, 15241, 15242, 15243, 15244, 15245, 15246, 15247, 15248, 15249, 15250, 15251, 15252, 15253, 15254, 15255, 15256, 15257, 15258, 15259, 15260, 15261, 15262, 15263, 15264, 15265, 15266, 15267, 15268, 15269, 15270, 15271, 15272, 15273, 15274, 15275, 15276, 15277, 15278, 15279, 15280, 15281, 15282, 15283, 15284, 15285, 15286, 15287, 15288, 15289, 15290, 15291, 15292, 15293, 15294, 15295, 15296, 15297, 15298, 15299, 15300, 15301, 15302, 15303, 15304, 15305, 15306, 15307, 15308, 15309, 15310, 15311, 15312, 15313, 15314, 15315, 15316, 15317, 15318, 15319, 15320, 15321, 15322, 15323, 15324, 15325, 15326, 15327, 15328, 15329, 15330, 15331, 15332, 15333, 15334, 15335, 15336, 15337, 15338, 15339, 15340, 15341, 15342, 15343, 15344, 15345, 15346, 15347, 15348, 15349, 15350, 15351, 15352, 15353, 15354, 15355, 15356, 15357, 15358, 15359, 15360, 15361, 15362, 15363, 15364, 15365, 15366, 15367, 15368, 15369, 15370, 15371, 15372, 15373, 15374, 15375, 15376, 15377, 15378, 15379, 15380, 15381, 15382, 15383, 15384, 15385, 15386, 15387, 15388, 15389, 15390, 15391, 15392, 15393, 15394, 15395, 15396, 15397, 15398, 15399, 15400, 15401, 15402, 15403, 15404, 15405, 15406, 15407, 15408, 15409, 15410, 15411, 15412, 15413, 15414, 15415, 15416, 15417, 15418, 15419, 15420, 15421, 15422, 15423, 15424, 15425, 15426, 15427, 15428, 15429, 15430, 15431, 15432, 15433, 15434, 15435, 15436, 15437, 15438, 15439, 15440, 15441, 15442, 15443, 15444, 15445, 15446, 15447, 15448, 15449, 15450, 15451, 15452, 15453, 15454, 15455, 15456, 15457, 15458, 15459, 15460, 15461, 15462, 15463, 15464, 15465, 15466, 15467, 15468, 15469, 15470, 15471, 15472, 15473, 15474, 15475, 15476, 15477, 15478, 15479, 15480, 15481, 15482, 15483, 15484, 15485, 15486, 15487, 15488, 15489, 15490, 15491, 15492, 15493, 15494, 15495, 15496, 15497, 15498, 15499, 15500, 15501, 15502, 15503, 15504, 15505, 15506, 15507, 15508, 15509, 15510, 15511, 15512, 15513, 15514, 15515, 15516, 15517, 15518, 15519, 15520, 15521, 15522, 15523, 15524, 15525, 15526, 15527, 15528, 15529, 15530, 15531, 15532, 15533, 15534, 15535, 15536, 15537, 15538, 15539, 15540, 15541, 15542, 15543, 15544, 15545, 15546, 15547, 15548, 15549, 15550, 15551, 15552, 15553, 15554, 15555, 15556, 15557, 15558, 15559, 15560, 15561, 15562, 15563, 15564, 15565, 15566, 15567, 15568, 15569, 15570, 15571, 15572, 15573, 15574, 15575, 15576, 15577, 15578, 15579, 15580, 15581, 15582, 15583, 15584, 15585, 15586, 15587, 15588, 15589, 15590, 15591, 15592, 15593, 15594, 15595, 15596, 15597, 15598, 15599, 15600, 15601, 15602, 15603, 15604, 15605, 15606, 15607, 15608, 15609, 15610, 15611, 15612, 15613, 15614, 15615, 15616, 15617, 15618, 15619, 15620, 15621, 15622, 15623, 15624, 15625, 15626, 15627, 15628, 15629, 15630, 15631, 15632, 15633, 15634, 15635, 15636, 15637, 15638, 15639, 15640, 15641, 15642, 15643, 15644, 15645, 15646, 15647, 15648, 15649, 15650, 15651, 15652, 15653, 15654, 15655, 15656, 15657, 15658, 15659, 15660, 15661, 15662, 15663, 15664, 15665, 15666, 15667, 15668, 15669, 15670, 15671, 15672, 15673, 15674, 15675, 15676, 15677, 15678, 15679, 15680, 15681, 15682, 15683, 15684, 15685, 15686, 15687, 15688, 15689, 15690, 15691, 15692, 15693, 15694, 15695, 15696, 15697, 15698, 15699,



Figure 5.1A. Green paper (standard red is present) of the cover of *Jenssen Onkosho*, in the *Cabinet des Médailles*. Photo: permission of the author.

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Figure 5.1B. Reverse side.



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Attilio Mastrocinque is in the Department of Time, Space, Image, and Society at the University of Verona, in Italy. In addition to his work with magical gems, his other primary areas of interest are ancient Mediterranean religions, as well as Roman religion, Roman history, and Hellenistic history. Professor Mastrocinque also is working on another book project: *Bona Dea and the Cults of Roman Women*.

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